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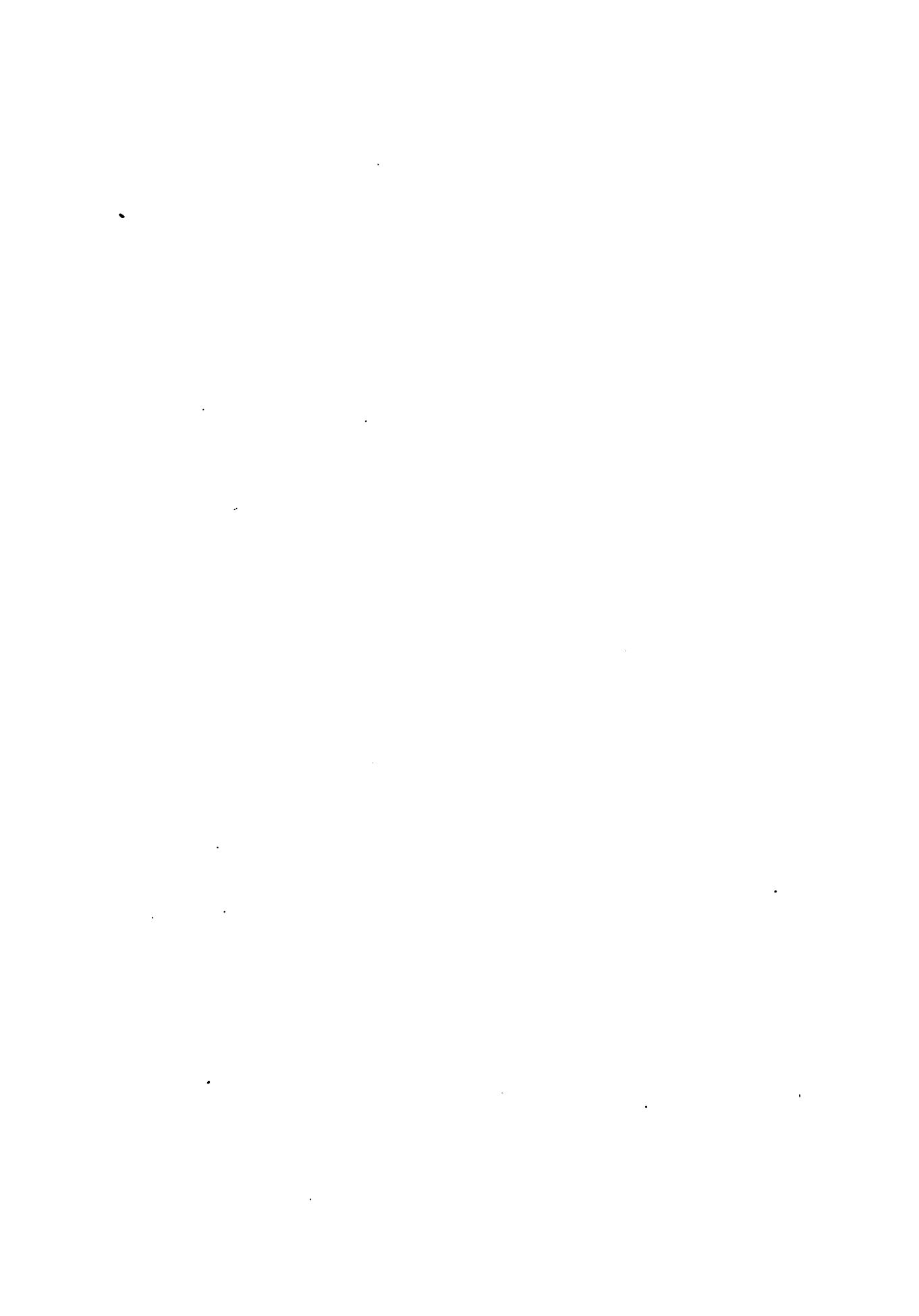


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SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY,  
37, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, W.C.

# JOURNAL

OF THE

## AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

EDITED BY

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS, AND CHARLES C. TORREY,

Professor in Yale University,  
New Haven.

Professor in Yale University,  
New Haven.

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TWENTY-FIFTH VOLUME,

SECOND HALF.

THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, U. S. A.

MCMIV

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According to the conversion-tables used in the United States money-order system as the basis of international money-orders, two dollars and fifty cents (\$2.50) = 10 shillings and 3 pence = 10 marks and 30 pfennigs = 12 francs or lire and 70 centimes = 9 kroner and 25 öre = 6 florins and 9 cents Netherlandish.

[This volume is for July-December, 1904. Issued December 2, 1904, in an edition of 500 copies.]

**274134**

THE AMERICAN  
ORIENTAL SOCIETY

The Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor Co. Press.

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JOURNAL  
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*The Bhartrharinirveda of Harihara, now first translated from the Sanskrit and Prâkrit.—By Dr. LOUIS H. GRAY, Newark, N. J.*

INTRODUCTION.

WHILE engaged in certain work on the *Satakatraya* ascribed to Bhartṛhari, my attention was directed, in reading Gopinath's introduction to his edition of the quatrains (Bombay, 1896, 19-22), to the *Bhartrharinirveda* of Harihara, a play of which the royal poet is the hero. Through the kindness of Professors Lanman and Jackson I was able at once to borrow copies of the drama, which appeared as No. 29 of the *Kâvayamâlâ*-series (Bombay, 1892). Although Sanskrit literature knows many Hariharas, only one is mentioned as a playwright, the author of the *Prabhâratîparinaya* (Rajendralala Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, vii. No. 2395; Lévi, *Théâtre Indien*, ii. 77, 88; Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, i. 354, 762, and for the play on Bhartrhari, Aufrecht, *ibid.*, i. 397, ii. 90, 183). Of our dramatist's life little is known. According to Durgaprasad and Parâ, the editors of the *Bhartrharinirveda*, he was a native of Mithila (the modern Janakpur in Chutia-Nagpur), and they describe the manuscript on which their edition is based as an 'excellent' (*suddha*) copy of one in Maithili script (it is worth noting in this connection that the manuscript of the *Prabhâratîparinaya* is written in the same characters), adding that the drama is still known in its old home.<sup>1</sup> The date of the

---

<sup>1</sup> Deviprasada's *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts existing in Oude*, viii. 6, which describes a codex of the *Bhartṛharinirveda*, is unfortunately inaccessible to me.

play, is uncertain, although it was written after the beginning of the fifteenth century. This is proved by the fact that the "leading man" is the famous ascetic Gorakṣanātha or Gorakhnāth, regarded as an incarnation of Śiva, and the founder, probably in the early part of the fifteenth century, of the Śivaite sect of Kanfat Yogis, whose chief shrine is in Gorakhpur, less than three hundred miles from the home of Harihara himself (see Garbe, *Sāṃkhyā und Yoga*, 42; Goldstücker, *Literary Remains*, i. 161-162; Monier-Williams, *Buddhism*, 193-194; Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, i. 91; Bhattacharya, *Hindu Castes and Sects*, 403-404; Aufrecht, *Cat. Cat.*, i. 165).

The position of the *Bhartṛharinirveda* in Hindu dramaturgy is somewhat peculiar. We have indeed a specimen of the quasi-historical play in Viśākhadatta's *Mudrārākṣasa*, but the drama here translated is the only one, so far as my present knowledge goes, of a play based primarily on a literary character. About the name of Bhartṛhari, according to legend both a poet and a king, many myths have gathered, which form the basis of numerous *yātras* that are still popular features of festivals in India (Gopinath, 22-23; Jackson, JAOS. xxiii. 313-314). My own views of the putative author of the *Śatakatraya*, whom tradition represents—correctly, I believe—as a Śivaite,<sup>1</sup> I must reserve for another time and place.

The *Bhartṛharinirveda* is in great part a glorification of the Yoga philosophy,<sup>2</sup> which teaches that the *summum bonum* is the discrimination and separation of soul from matter, thus leading through renunciation of the world (*rāirāgya*) to isolation (*kāivalya*) of the ego. At this point, however, the Yoga system is united in this play, as in modern Indian philosophical thought generally, with the Vedānta, which seeks release (*mokṣa*) from reincarnation and all its attendant evils by reabsorption into the All-Soul (*ātman, brahman*). In regard to its sectarian point of view, the drama is overwhelmingly Śivaite, although

<sup>1</sup> The allusions to Śiva in the *Śatakatraya* (ed. Bombay, 1891), especially in the *Vāirāgya-Śatka*, 1, 28, 38, 59, 70, 78, 90, 92, 98, 99, 115 (= Böhtlingk, *Indische Sprüche*, 2308, 6680, 7228, 4982, 1398, 4520, 2425, 7288, 2159, 5799, 4279) and most of all 40, 42 (*Ind. Spr.* 844, 7254), have, to my mind, more than a conventional ring.

<sup>2</sup> See the sketches of the Yoga system by Max Müller, *Six Systems of Hindu Philosophy*, 402-478 (for this play especially 406, 488, 444), and Garbe, *Sāṃkhyā und Yoga*, 38-51.

Viṣṇu is mentioned occasionally. Herein it agrees with the spirit of the *Śatkatraya* ascribed to Bhartrhari. It would seem, however, that the *Nīti* and *Śrūgāra* centuries of that collection exercised little influence on Harihara, although several passages in his play reflect, as is natural considering its subject, the spirit of the *Vāirāgya-Śatka*. To some of these resemblances I have called attention in my notes. There are, however, no direct quotations from Bhartrhari.

The duration of the play is nowhere given, but it is evidently comprised within a very few days, since the only lapse of time of any length is the king's absence on a hunt between the first and second acts. The queen's death is announced at the opening of the second act, and at the end of the fourth she is restored to life by Gorakṣanātha before being placed on the funeral pyre, while the first lines of the fifth act represent her as returning from the burning-ghāt to the king. It is evident, furthermore, that the play was produced with a most primitive setting,<sup>1</sup> for a change of scene is several times indicated by the "business" of the characters within the limits of the act itself.

In my translation I have rendered the poetry of the original into blank verse, the conventional meter of English drama. Only so, I felt, could I preserve the spirit of the original, to which I have adhered as closely as possible, while not hesitating to permit myself an occasional paraphrase. Prose for the original verse-sections would be unwieldly, and trisyllabic meters, although they might indicate the varying rhythms of the Sanskrit, would give, I fear, too light a touch to the seriousness of the play, which in its revivification of the heroine, Bhānumatī, recalls the pathos of the almost tragic Buddhist drama of the *Nāgānanda*. The numbers in square brackets refer to the pages of the Bombay edition of the *Bhartṛharinirveda*. As an appendix I have added the life of Bhartrhari himself as given by the Dutch missionary Abraham Roger in his *Open-Deure tot het Verborgen Heydendom* (Leiden, 1651). The book is rather rare, and the account of the poet which it contains is of interest, not only as the first European biography of a Sanskrit author, but also as being at most scarcely a century later than the play here translated. The southern legend from Pulicat on the Coromandel Coast in the Southeast may thus be compared with the Maithili version in the Northeast.

<sup>1</sup> See on the setting Lévi, 386-391, and for a modern popular representation, Frazer, *Literary History of India*, 267-269.

## THE BHARTRHARINIRVEDA.

## DRAMATIS PERSONAE.

## In the Induction

*The Stage-Manager.**An Actress.*

## In the Play

*Bhartṛhari*, a King.*Deratilaka*, Prime Minister to *Bhartṛhari*.*Gorakṣanātha*, a Sage disguised as a mendicant ascetic.*Chamberlain to Bhartṛhari*.*Messenger of Ill.**Bhānumati*, a Queen, wife to *Bhartṛhari*.*First Maid-Servant.**Second Maid-Servant.**Child*, son to *Bhartṛhari* and *Bhānumati*.*Attendants, Retainers, etc.*

[1]

## ACT I.

(Induction)

(Invocation)

All glory be to Śiva, on whose head  
 The crescent moon descends to cool his brow,  
 While from his locks the Ganges dares not fall  
 E'en at his feet, awed by his fervent flame;  
 Within whose heart, for terror of its fire,  
 The venom of the demons feared to come,<sup>1</sup>  
 What time with steadfast soul and calm he bears  
 His parting from his spouse, fair Pārvatī.<sup>2</sup>

(End of the invocation<sup>3</sup>)

<sup>1</sup> A curious addition to the well-known legend of Śiva's draught of the poison *hālahala* produced at the churning of the ocean by the gods and demons, whence the deity received one of his conventional epithets, *nilakanṭha*, 'blue-neck.'

<sup>2</sup> Alluding to Śiva's asceticism before he would wed Pārvatī and probably referring also to his grief at the loss of Umā, Pārvatī in a former incarnation, who had given up her life because of her father's insult to her husband, all hinting at the action of this play.

<sup>3</sup> *nāndi*, see Wilson, *Theatre of the Hindus*, i. introd., 85, Lévi, *Théâtre Indien*, 131-137, and on the modern form of its recitation, *ibid.*, 896. It corresponds somewhat to the Elizabethan and Restoration Prologue.

(Enter the STAGE-MANAGER)

STAGE-MANAGER. No more delay! Hear ye! Hear ye! At the festal season of the Dread Lord, Sovereign of the Shades, the Mighty One,<sup>1</sup> who is the very seed of the tree of the three-fold world,<sup>2</sup> an audience may easily be assembled. The play we would present<sup>3</sup> was written by great Harihara, and bears the title of "The Renunciation of Bhartrhari," being devoted to the delightsomeness of tranquillity. Be ye then attentive, for,

Love and all earthly weal may not be gained  
 Save by the awful cycle o'er and o'er  
 From birth to death and death to birth again,  
 While fawn-eyed girls aid in this mockery,  
 And they that falsely say they are thy friends.  
 All fleeting are earth's joys, but that great bliss  
 That knoweth there is naught save only Brahm  
 Alone is blessed through his holy peace.

Now I'll call my wife and go on with the play. (Turns toward the wings) This way, my dear!

[2] (Enter an ACTRESS)

ACTRESS. Here I am, my love!

STAGE-MANAGER (looking at her closely). Why do you seem disturbed, dear wife?

ACTRESS. You've been away so long! That's why I was anxious.

STAGE-MANAGER. My love, I went to persuade a priest to bless me,<sup>4</sup> in order to avert a misfortune an astrologer warned me of. That's the reason for my delay.

ACTRESS. Ah then, 'tis well.

STAGE-MANAGER. It is indeed, and

Now, dear, my holy errand's done, and lo,  
 In haste I come to thee, as to his spouse  
 Bhānumatī king Bhartrhari came.

(Exeunt)

(End of the Induction<sup>5</sup>)

<sup>1</sup> Epithets of Śiva, at whose great festival on February 27 (cf. Hopkins, *Religions of India*, 453; Lévi, 368) this play apparently was presented.

<sup>2</sup> Heaven, earth, and hell.

<sup>3</sup> *tānupāśitum*.

<sup>4</sup> *śāntijāpakān anukūlayitum*.

<sup>5</sup> *prastāvana*, cf. Lévi, 362-363. For English parallels, of which *The Taming of the Shrew* is the best known, see Gummere, in Gayley, *Representative English Comedies*, 343; cf. also the famous 'Vorspiel' to Goethe's *Faust*.

(Enter suddenly, as if just arrived, the KING, BHĀNUMATĪ, who seems much agitated, and a band of retainers)

KING (seeing BHĀNUMATĪ). She has been anxious indeed!

No joy was mine in hunting or in dice,  
The converse of my friends fell on deaf ears,  
For she was not beside me, but today  
Within her beauteous eyes I'll gaze again,  
And in mine arms her blameless form shall rest!

(Aside)

Alas! her smile is gone, and knit her brow—  
How burdened with its boundless grief her soul!

(Approaches her)

O Love! why dost thou look so sad today?  
Thy virtues won my heart in times long past;  
What pain can e'er be thine if I be near?

(Tries to embrace her)

[3] BHĀNUMATĪ. I will not be pursued by thee, my lord!

KING. What words be these?

O slender and most fair! my throne's rich jewel,  
Sweet stream of benediction to my house!  
Why rain ambrosial tears from thy dear eyes?  
Why on thy limbs in such confusion strange  
Doth camphor with thy sandal-unguent mix?  
Ah, come! and as a tendril<sup>1</sup> clasp me close  
Within thy rounded arms, for thou art mine!

Nay, more than this,

'Tis only through thy beauty that mine eyes  
Gain light, reflecting thee, the moon's soft sheen,  
While that thy falling tears reveal the love  
The starry queen doth bear her chosen jewel;  
'Tis through thy voice mine ear sweet nectar drinks!  
Yea, though I did an hundred deeds of good,  
Or though I dwelt above with Lakṣmi's Lord,<sup>2</sup>  
What greater bliss than thee could I e'er find?

<sup>1</sup> *ajjaūtta*.

<sup>2</sup> *kalpalatikā*, the magic creeper in Indra's paradise which fulfills every wish.

<sup>3</sup> In Viṣṇu's dwelling on Mount Vāikunṭha.

BHĀNUMATĪ. This is not true, my lord! Wert thou not heartless, how couldst thou pass so long a time away from me? My lord knows not how each moment of his absence I yearn for him! (*Weeps*)

KING. Be comforted, my queen, be comforted! It was to Ganges' bank I went to avert a misfortune foretold me by an astrologer. I was there in obedience to a Brahman, not in hardness of heart. Lo,

Ne'er doth the moon, whose gentle rays soft kiss  
The timid lotus smiling but for him,  
Turn from his love, except at Fate's decree.

[4] BHĀNUMATĪ. Ah, my lord! There is another devotion which the lotus shows, when, her lover lost, she closeth her eyes, and thus maketh the days to pass. Like me, she liveth but in hope that she shall see her beloved again.

KING. And yet,

Let not thy tender soul, weighed down by grief,  
Distraught by separation from thy love,  
Depart to realms unknown, bereft of hope!  
What were the lotus blue without the sun,  
Or the white lote without the moon's soft rays?

(*A sound of music and murmurs without. Both look through the lattice window*<sup>1</sup>)

KING (*in astonishment*). My queen, thou hast conquered! Here a wife followeth her lord in death, and since she cannot bear separation's fire, she will straightway enter the flames, kindling all matrons' esteem to lofty fervor. 'Tis true indeed!

Could wifely troth e'er greater be than this,  
When e'en the blazing pyre becomes a couch  
All flower-soft, and when the rolling flames  
Seem fragrant zephyrs from some sandal-grove,  
While Death himself is changed to gentle Love?

BHĀNUMATĪ. Nay, my lord! Small affection is theirs who straightway shun the fire of parting and haste to the flame of the funeral-pyre.

---

<sup>1</sup> *jd̥lamārga.*

KING (*aside*). Alas! firm is her resolve!<sup>1</sup> yet no, it is a trick,  
Full wide fair women spread their guileful snares  
Where they themselves are caught like false gazelles.

[5] (*Aloud*) My queen, what is thy resolution?

BHĀNUMATI. A decision of my heart that cannot endure  
thine absence.

KING (*aside*). I must fathom this, I must indeed! Now to  
the hunt! (*Aloud*) Long and eagerly my soldiers have been  
awaiting me for the chase. May my queen permit me then to  
go. Soon I shall return and render her my homage.

BHĀNUMATI (*choking with sobs*). I cannot bear it here!  
(*Exit King; she follows him, weeping*) I shall cling to the  
pillars of the door and watch the pathway of my lord.

(*Exeunt omnes*)

END OF ACT I.

## ACT II.

(*Enter, with a toss of the curtain, a MAID-SERVANT, weeping*)

MAID-SERVANT (*beating her breast*). Alas, that I were dead,  
poor wretch!

(*Enter SECOND MAID-SERVANT*)

SECOND MAID-SERVANT. What means the outcry in the  
gynaceum, dear?

FIRST MAID-SERVANT (*weeping*). The queen that fulfilled  
every wish of ours, the city's crowning jewel, delight of heart  
to all her kin, [6] died as she heard the false news that a tiger  
had slain the king, the king!

SECOND MAID-SERVANT (*shaken with sobs*). Alas! what  
heartless creature brought these lying tidings?

FIRST MAID-SERVANT. A messenger of ill from the king.  
Even though she later learned the message was untrue, she did  
not revive.

<sup>1</sup> The drift of the first act is not altogether clear. The King evidently sees from the Queen's manner that she considers the ordinary *sati* to be deficient in wifely love, in that a wife must wait to be killed by fire to join her husband in death. Knowing that she has resolved to differ from the most of her sex in the event of his decease, he resolves, though ignorant of her meaning and intent, but eager to know it, to put her to the test, the device adopted by him and its result being reserved for the second act.

<sup>2</sup> The conventional stage-direction for a hasty entrance, see *Levi*, 874.

Boru (with compassion and respect).

The slander on her love is gone today;  
Now knows the king what his harsh words have done,  
For her life passed because he falsely said  
That he was slain, although she knew he lied.

(A noise without) How shall the queen be carried from the city now? Here comes the messenger of ill to the king that is returned from the hunt. The last honors to our mistress we shall perform and show our innocence.

(Eccant)

(End of the connecting-scene<sup>1</sup>)

(Enter, as returning from the hunt, the King and attendants)

King (making as if his body were sickly)

No man may know what joy or pain shall come,  
And yet his body, senseless though it be,  
Doth prophecy to him in throbings strange.

[3] (Anxiously) Too surely this portendeth the working of the evil fate foretold me! Lo,

Firm, all too firm, the love within her heart --  
To die, bereft of him she held most dear!  
If in my folly I distrusted her,  
The vengeance of my deed now falls on me.

(King -- messenger, the MESSENGER OF ILL)

MESSENGER OF ILL. O King, the queen's -- (Breaks off abruptly)

King (anxiously). Messenger of ill, what of the queen?

प्राणादृ, see Levi, 81. The usual translation by 'interlude' is misleading, especially as the term has an entirely different connotation in English (cf. Ward, *History of English Dramatic Literature*, i. 208, 287). The actual situation, however, is frequently paralleled in a measure on the modern stage, as in the first part of the fourth act of Rose's dramatization of *Richard III*, where Dorothy Manners and Patty Swain give in their long conversation an account of the events which have elapsed since the close of the preceding act. See below, p. 209, the note on *सुखदृहि*.

<sup>1</sup> A sign of evil omens for a man, as is the throbbing of the right eye for a woman, cf. *सुखदृहि*, Act V, and *हेमद्रि* on *सुखदृहि* vi. ४८, *सुखदृहिः एव विराग्मि श्रीपदां प्रसादं न दद्दिश्यतः*, "with women the left side is auspicious; with men, the right."

MESSENGER OF ILL. When she heard from my lips, as thou hadst bidden me, that the king had been killed by a tiger—

KING (*in frantic conjecture*). What thought entered the queen's heart, all troubled by her swoon?

MESSENGER OF ILL. Even while she clung to the pillars of the door to watch thy pathway—

KING (*his voice choked with sobs*). Why breaks't thou off in the middle of thy words? Or is the three-fold world thus darkened by my wretched self?<sup>1</sup>

MESSENGER OF ILL. Alas! her breath hath gone, nor come again!

(*The King sinks fainting to the ground. The Messenger of Ill supports him*)

MESSENGER OF ILL (*supporting the King*). Courage, Sire!

[8] KING (*reviving slightly*).

'Twas not her breath alone that passed away,  
O Love, O Lotus-Eyed! but from my soul  
The joy of life is fled, and Fate doth curse  
The house of Bharthari evermore!

(*Again falls fainting. Attendants support him*)

Those gentle joys all past! Ah, me!

How could her sight leave her whom once it saw,  
Her smile desert her lips—but weak is speech!

(*Anxiously*) Tell me, where is the queen now?

MESSENGER OF ILL. I saw them bearing her forth from the city.

KING (*in agony*). How can her kinsfolk think the queen is to be burned on the pyre? (*Rushes madly about. Angrily*) No, no! It shall not be!

Upon her funeral couch of mortal wood  
Nor smoke nor fire shall wrap her form so dear,  
All tender as *sīrīsa*<sup>2</sup>-filaments;  
But in mine arms, within my fervent love,  
Upon my knees her body shall be laid,  
That so, through mine affection's holy flame,  
Her limbs shall be a sacrifice indeed!

<sup>1</sup> A roundabout way of asking himself whether he imagines a premonition of evil in the messenger's words.

<sup>2</sup> *Acacia Lebbek*, Benth., noted for the fragility of its branches, Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, 842.

(*Walking around and looking about<sup>1</sup>*) Here is my darling in the cemetery! Alas, oh, evil fate!

In this abode of death the jackals howl  
 That drag the corpses to their loathly feast,  
 And mumble o'er the fragments scorched and burned,  
 Frighting e'en vultures with the awful sight!  
 The black smoke of the dead doth blind mine eyes,  
 And fills my nostrils with its pungency—  
 This, this the resting place of her I love!

(*Again faints. Noise without*)

ATTENDANTS (*supporting the KING*). Here are thy kinsmen, all worn with grief, weeping at the change which hath come upon their lord.

[9] KING. How know my kinsfolk that Bhartr̥hari lives today? Alas, alas!

Lo, she hath died for me, although she knew  
 I spake her false to test the love she bare;  
 Like as a wisp of grass she gave her life,  
 And she is gone, while I must stay; yet who  
 Today could say that Bhartr̥hari lives?

(*Going up stage with a piteous expression*) My queen, what is this?

Thy beauty faded even as thy saffron,  
 All wearied from thy garland's weight thou art,  
 With ashes covered o'er, by logs oppressed,  
 How cans't thou bide within this sea of flame?

ATTENDANTS (*looking up stage*). Why comes this courtier, Devatilaka?

(*Enter DEVATILAKA*)

DEVATILAKA. Courage, Sire!

KING. How can I have courage?

All consolation's fled and gone with her  
 From earth to heaven, but Fate hath stricken me!  
 A curse upon my life, that fain would pass  
 Where she doth dwell, the while mine evil lot  
 Constrains me here! Ah, me! what can I do?

---

<sup>1</sup> The scene changes (from the courtyard of the palace?) to the cemetery.

By mine own act this misfortune hath befallen me for deceiving my wife. Lo,

'Twas I that digged the pit wherein I fell,  
 'Twas my lips kissed her with a serpent's sting,  
 'Twas my sword wrought the murder of my soul,  
 'Twas I that slept at ease while my house burned!

[10] DEVATILAKA. Sire, though the great be weak of heart in time of awful pain, they take courage once again!

KING.

Yea, had there been some little fault in her,  
 My heart had pitied her; but love like this,  
 Where can one atom e'er be found again?  
 And at this thought my courage droops and dies.

DEVATILAKA. Sire, even so, firmness is a support.

KING.

Support! what means that word? Oh, curse my deed!  
 For union, not for parting, is my prayer!

(*Seems to look frantically on a litter for the dead*) O my queen! my queen!

How deep the ocean of thy love, dear heart,  
 Where thou hast voyaged in safety to thy port,  
 While I am drowning in the waves that close  
 Above my head for my most grievous wrong!

Alas! my queen!

Today the gentle arts of love were thine,  
 Today my heart doth break for evermore!  
 Today all joy, all happiness I held,  
 Today my glory turns to living death!

VOICE (*without*). Sire, give commandment to bear the queen to the pyre!

KING (*listening*). No, it shall not be! (*Angrily*) Why do my kinsmen try to thwart my will?

DEVATILAKA. Sire, give o'er this obstinacy!

[11] KING. Obstinacy, indeed!

Ye'd thrust me back because I'm damned by Fate,  
 Would give my darling's body to the flames,

Lo, thus I burst the fetters of my heart,  
And in the fire I plunge to be with her!

(*Rushes frantically toward the pyre*)

DEVATILAKA. Quick! we must stay the king!

(*Exeunt omnes*)

END OF ACT II.

### ACT III.

(*Enter CHAMBERLAIN*)

CHAMBERLAIN (*stumbling*). Alas! even a staff is no support  
for me who am vanquished by age and grief! Nay,

My body worn with age and sick with grief  
For my dear lord, and frightened by the change  
That hath come o'er him—what could be its staff?

(*Rising with difficulty*) Now I shall tell the minister of the  
ascetic's promise which will free the king from sorrow.

(*Walking about and gazing fixedly*) Why, this is the  
minister.

(*Enter DEVATILAKA*)

DEVATILAKA (*meditatively*).

And so the end hath come for very love!  
How strong the bond betwixt the king and queen!  
Ah, let me voice my grief, who fain were dead!

CHAMBERLAIN (*approaching*). Excellency, the noble ascetic  
promises he will heal the king's woe.

DEVATILAKA (*joyfully*). So be it! Let the king be here; I  
will go see the ascetic.

(*Exeunt*)

(*End of the connecting scene<sup>1</sup>*)

<sup>1</sup> The scene changes, perhaps to a hall in Devatilaka's house.

<sup>2</sup> *viśkambhaka*, see Lévi, 59. The distinction between the *viśkambhaka* and *pravesaka* (above, p. 205) is rather slight. The former, strictly speaking, is a recital by only two characters of events which have elapsed since the close of the preceding act. It may be written either in Sanskrit or in Prākrit and may occur at the beginning either of the play or of any of the acts. The *pravesaka*, in which more than two characters may take part, is a less formal introductory scene, may be in Prākrit only, and cannot occur at the beginning of a play.

[12] (*Enter the KING in frenzy*)

KING. Oh, my belovèd, thou daughter of Benares' king!

Thy life is fled because thou heardst I died—  
Be this thy fame above all womankind!  
But I, alas! how wretched must I live,  
Dishonored by the dooming drums of shame!

This is my chief hope, to take her in mine arms, and through meditation on death to become her spouse in another birth.

VOICE (*without*). My bowl! where art thou? O God! most cruelly hath my bowl been reft from me and destroyed! (*Weeps as if exhausted*)

KING (*listening*). Truly a sound of grief as it were mine own that am stricken down by sorrow! How now? Let me go and see. (*Walks about, followed by Attendants. Looking about him<sup>1</sup>*) Why does this ascetic sink down for grief because of a broken jar? Come, let me console him.

(*Enter ASCETIC, as described*)

ASCETIC. My bowl! (*Weeps as he repeats his former words*)

KING. Be comforted, Ascetic!

ASCETIC (*sighing*). Alas! what comfort for me whose bowl is broken, the companion of my wanderings in many lands, my wife of virtues manifold?

KING (*with sympathy*).

Who grieveth not to lose what most he loves,  
Small though it be? But wert thou reft as I,  
How could'st thou bear misfortune's burden then!

[13] So shall I address this pious man. Ascetic, why art thou so distressed at the breaking of this bowl?

ASCETIC (*tearfully*). Who art thou that speakest so harshly? Thou knowest not its virtues.

KING. What were they, pray?

ASCETIC. Ah, so great they should be told, but who can tell them?

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<sup>1</sup> *dibbiā*, a Hindi word.

<sup>2</sup> The scene again changes, perhaps to the court before Devatilaka's house.

Long was this dish the idol of my soul;  
 Therewith I gathered fuel for my fire,  
 It gave me drink, it begged my scanty meal  
 And held it covered o'er the while it cooked;  
 And then I ate from it, and tenderly  
 Concealed it lest some harm should come to it.<sup>1</sup>

KING. Too true,

Who reckoneth the virtues of his love,  
 All things in her bring joy unto his soul.

Yet even so, since thy bowl is broken beyond repair, give o'er this grief.

ASCETIC. While I put its strength to the test, it fell and broke—this is my sorrow.

KING (*sadly*). Of mine own grief there is no end, since what I loved hath perished now, for,

My heart is dazed with sorrow—why, when hopes  
 Are gone and souls are dead, should life live on?

(*Firmly, as he wipes away his tears*) Yet even so, Ascetic,

'Tis Fate that joineth love and loathing, Fate  
 That parteth them, while man falls impotent.

[14] (*The ASCETIC weeps, not listening to him, but pressing the mass of potsherds to his heart*) Weep no more, Ascetic! I will give thee yet a better bowl of earthenware, silver, or gold.

ASCETIC (*stopping his ears*). Heaven forbid! Away with a golden bowl! If one of clay causeth such distress at its breaking, what would it be if it were of gold! Nay, more (*speaking Sanskrit*),

Delusion's shark ensnares me with desire,  
 Foul Passion's whirlpools eddy round my soul;  
 If such small griefs an ocean seem to me,  
 'Neath Sorrow's billows I should be o'erwhelmed.

Falsely dost thou speak of aught better than this! Whence should I get another so goodly to touch, so fair of form?

---

<sup>1</sup> This verse is in Sanskrit, although the prose spoken by the Ascetic remains Prākrit.

KING (*with a revulsion of feeling*).

Though thou shouldst gain a hundred things with ease,  
In numbers more than ever virtues were,  
It is desire misleads the mind of man,  
And causeth him all anguish and distress.

Ascetic!

Each thought of earthly passion snares the heart  
And mocks the soul with beauty that shall fade,  
For love is folly and knows virtue not.

ASCETIC. Thou fool, this is not mere love! It gave my body nourishment.

[15] KING. And yet, how should this bowl have remained unbroken?

If it might last ten times a million years,  
Or for a century, e'en for a year,  
Or yet the half thereof, then might'st thou mourn;  
But wherefore should a sage like thee be sad  
For a poor bauble that a day doth break?

Lament no more at thy body's increase or decrease, for,

'Tis well with thee when earthly treasures pass,  
Affections of this world bring but distress.  
Our own lives are the source of primal woe,  
And all is but an empty mockery.

ASCETIC. Doth not the world leave what it liketh not, to follow what it doth desire?

KING. Through delusion! Lo,

Great as thy joy in that thy love doth live,  
Shall be thy sorrow when the parting comes;  
Thus pleasure walks with pain, and e'en in hate  
Delight doth mingle strangely with distress,  
Yet both alike are but Delusion's snare.

ASCETIC. I know it well, yet hath my heart no remedy.

KING. If even the good have not saving knowledge, what refuge can there be?

ASCETIC. There's death! So I will think upon my bowl, and die, to be with it once more in another incarnation.

[16] KING (*smiling*). This utter folly is the source of reincarnation! What manner of man, pray tell, doth such sorry pranks and grievous?

ASCETIC<sup>1</sup> (*laughing aloud*).

The sages in their wisdom brand as fool  
Him who in darkness hides, then lights a lamp.

(*The KING bows his head in confusion*) O King, what thinkest thou?

KING. Sir, what need of further words of mine? Teach me; thou has removed my grief.

ASCETIC. Full true! I, whose nature is that kindly one truth easily wins, met thee in thy plight as I returned from visiting the Lady of the Vindhyas,<sup>2</sup> and revealed this wisdom unto thee.

KING. Teach me the future, noble Gorakṣanātha!

ASCETIC. I will.

KING. Sir, blessed hath been my salvation from that blind pit! (*Falls at the ASCETIC's feet. GORAKṢANĀTHA raises him up. The KING assumes a suppliant's posture*) If there is aught more, let my teacher instruct me, that I may not meet such grief again.

GORAKṢANĀTHA. Goodly is the land of thy mind, seamed by the plow of grief, watered by discrimination's rain, ready for the seed of understanding. Harken,

Desire gives birth to life and all its woe;  
Would'st thou escape, eradicate the root  
And meditate the majesty of Brahm,  
The Lord Supreme that knows nor time nor space;<sup>3</sup>  
Thus, thus shall bliss supernal soon be thine.

KING. Sir, I have indeed renounced my desires which ever hope. Oh, bliss! Oh, bliss!

Since pleasure is but folly from its birth,

And joy brings only sorrow in its train,

[17] Lo, here and now I cast my hopes away  
Like venomous creepers from a holy wood;  
And yet, alas! salvation is not won!

<sup>1</sup> From this point the Ascetic, in conformity with the change in his share in the action of the play, speaks only Sanskrit.

<sup>2</sup> The goddess Devi, wife of Siva. <sup>3</sup> Cf. *Nīti-Śat.* 1 (*Ind. Spr.* 2789).

How should I meditate on truth?

GORAKṢANĀTHA.

Withhold thyself from every thought of earth,  
Yea, fix thy mind upon the Infinite,  
And soon the Lord of joy<sup>1</sup> shall come to thee,  
In gracious revelation to thy soul.

KING. So be it then! Unto a grove nearby I'll go, where no  
folk come, and meditate on Him!

(*Exeunt omnes*)

END OF ACT III.

#### ACT IV.

(*Enter DEVATILAKA*)

DEVATILAKA (*joyfully*). 'Tis a great gain that this ascetic  
hath taken the king from the cemetery to the grove. Therefore  
I shall go thither. (*Walks around and looks about him*) How  
meditative the king is as the ascetic instructs him! Thus the  
waves of his great woe which is being checked close his external  
faculties; or rather,

He whom the flame of bitter grief doth sear,  
Unless he learn to bow his stubborn will,  
May find no peace, e'en for a moment's space.

(*Enter the KING as described, with the ASCETIC*)

KING (*joyfully, showing by a gesture which indicates complete change that his meditation is ended*). Sir, what a foretaste  
of blessed knowledge riseth up!

GORAKṢANĀTHA. By study shalt thou be filled with bliss.  
In due time I shall teach thee the asceticism of self-control<sup>2</sup>  
with its eight parts.

KING. Sir, joy is won! (*Falls at his feet*)

DEVATILAKA (*joyfully*). This ascetic hath removed the  
king's grief, and he seemeth almost joyful. Now is my time!  
(*Approaches*) May the king command the preparation of the  
queen's funeral pile! (*The KING stands silent*) [18] Answer,  
Sire!

<sup>1</sup> The All-Soul (*ātman*).

<sup>2</sup> *hathayoga*, see Garbe, *Sāṃkhya und Yoga*, 48-44.

KING (*smiling*). The time is past,—

While consciousness of self deluded me,  
Thou wast a minister, and I a king;  
But now yon hermit's words have driven far  
All folly and all madness from my soul.

Therefore on thee be the burden of command henceforth, or  
on thy heir.

DEVATILAKA (*to the ASCETIC*). Ascetic, a scorpion's bite need  
not be cured by a serpent's!

GORAKṢANĀTHA. Excellency, reproach me not! Turn the  
king from this renunciation which he hath readily felt through  
his grief. I myself shall aid thee.

DEVATILAKA. O Sire, what means this?

Though by thy wondrous lore thou hast acquired  
All knowledge and perfection, Lord of Earth,  
Doth not thy throne shine bright as golden ghee?

KING. I have spoken! The time is past, for lo,

All faint and weary, parched with burning flame  
Of feverish folly that consumed my soul,  
I have cast far from me the deadly weight  
Of venom poisoning the founts of life.  
Disgust for what I loved now fills my heart;  
I crave but holiness, and from my throne  
As from some loathly feast I gladly flee.

DEVATILAKA. Sire, doth not the wealth that thou has gained  
restore thy mind?

KING.

Aye, wealth, won by oppression of the poor,  
Kept but by carking care and vigilance,  
A peril and an evil to the soul.  
Lo, as a reptile vile I trample it!

DEVATILAKA. Alas! Thou esteemest poverty, for which  
no others pray, as a thing of little dread!

KING.

Anxiety is o'er, I fear no thief;  
All dread of rival monarchs now is gone.  
I shrink no more before the covert sneers

Of my retainers. Poverty be mine;  
 But riches, fleeting as the lightning's gleam,  
 Be multiplied to thee that cravest them!

[19] DEVATILAKA. Is the Earth despised by thee, she that was won by thee in weal and that doth joy thy heart in every wise?

KING. How is she despised if I was honored of her? Behold,  
 Straightway the Earth forgetteth her dead loves,  
 As they were little loyal or were false.  
 E'en though they worshipped her, she mocketh them  
 Before all people, and saith unto them,  
 "Now sleep ye on my breast!" Yea, harlot-like,  
 The Earth rejoiceth all, to all is false.

Nay, more,

May she have little joy for all her lore!  
 She hates the hero that doth seam her flesh<sup>1</sup>  
 With hoofs of chargers galloping to war,  
 The while she revels in the gushing blood  
 From his rent body that is slain for her.

DEVATILAKA. Sire, who leaveth a throne won by righteousness and gained by many an incarnation?

KING (*smiling*).

Why "Sire"? The pain of fevered pride is past,  
 Asceticism drives all grief afar,  
 Nor do I dread misfortune's arrows now;  
 Yea, beggar through I be, I am a lord—  
 All passion conquered, I have won my peace;  
 Now can'st thou say that all joy is not mine?

DEVATILAKA. Heaven forbid! How can'st thou desert thy weeping kinsfolk?

KING. Kinsfolk that are truly good are pleased by the change in one whose thoughts are bent on the world beyond, while others

Weep with their eyes, but in their hearts rejoice,  
 Mocking the king in secret on his throne

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<sup>1</sup> Apparently with an erotic sub-meaning; cf. Schmidt, *Beiträge zur indischen Erotik*, 478-496.

And railing on him in his majesty;  
If these be kinsmen, what wouldst thou call foes?

[20] DEVATILAKA. O Sire, if she that cometh after thee is such, how shall these or any others endure?

KING.

To say that "These be mine or I am theirs"  
Are words of folly; madness 'tis to love  
Son, friend, or kinsman more than all besides;  
But now infatuation's fled from me,  
And every chain that bound me falls away.

DEVATILAKA (*sadly*). O Fortune of kings, thou art slain!

KING. She is slain indeed, who was associated with great agony! Lo,

Of venom born, unstable as the sea,  
The twining fire of hell that burns below;  
Ne'er could she touch the gentle stars on high,  
Or know the beauty of the moon's soft sheen.

And again,

E'en Nahusa fell from his kingly throne,  
The moon brought shame upon his teacher's spouse,  
Indra seduced the wife of Gotama,  
While Bali sank unto the lowest hell;  
And yet we fools would win to Fortune's port  
Across the falsely rolling seas of life,  
Though none may ever reach that fateful shore.

DEVATILAKA. Then be there a series of successes for the fortune of the king in his absorption in the propitiation of the deities whose favor is shown in the world beyond!

KING. Since Narayana<sup>1</sup> may be honored only by knowledge of the Supreme Spirit, why win the favor of other divinities? Yet what need of many words?

If I be mine own lord, what ask I more?  
Or doth the blazing flame miss one poor spark,  
The radiant moon the fire-fly's trembling light?

<sup>1</sup> Referring to Vishnu (see below, p. 228), or perhaps to Brahman, as in Manu, the *Vayu Purana*, and the *Vishnu Purana*, cf. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, i. 85, 50, 76, and also the (late) *Narayana-Upanisad*, translated by Deussen, *Sechzig Upanishad's des Veda*, 747-749.

When starved a monarch for a beggar's food?  
 Doth Ganges' stream need springs terrestrial,  
 Or immortality earth's healing herbs?  
 Nārāyaṇa, thou Self-Existent Soul,  
 If thou art mine, I reck no gods besides.

DEVATILAKA. Aye, granted, Sire! Yet even thus thy lore will bring thee little gain, who hast delighted in the pleasure of this world in thy youth, and in thine age hast no more desire.

[31] KING (*smiling*). Let me tell thee of the contradictoriness of worldly bliss. Lo,

We boast that we be lords of earthly joys  
 That conquer us e'en in our victory;  
 'Tis they that are our tyrants, dooming us,  
 Outworn and useless, unto direst shame.

Nay, more,

In vain is each distinction thou would'st make  
 'Twixt venom and the world corporeal;  
 True wisdom only is that which discerns  
 Between the finite and the Infinite.

And again,

Ah, slay thy love of earth now in thy youth,  
 Or it will curse thee till thy dying day.

Lo,

The firmness of thy teeth, thy raven locks,  
 The light within thine eyes, thy body soft,  
 And all thy days are doomed to die of age,  
 While hope alone shall live to mock at thee.

DEVATILAKA. Alas, what can be done?

GORAKSANĀTHA. Sire, by my ascetic's powers I will bring to life thy love that caused thy renunciation, and, leaving thee with her alone, will remove thy disgust of life. (*Takes the KING's hand and walks about*)

DEVATILAKA (*joyfully*). I will prepare them a place of meeting here.

(*Ereunt omnes*)

END OF ACT IV.

## ACT V.

(Enter severally BHĀNUMATĪ, raised from the dead, and the KING)

BHĀNUMATĪ. Sire, my limbs fail me; support me! (Tries to embrace him. He repels her. [22] In embarrassment) Sire, why art thou averse to me?

KING. Averse or yet perchance not averse.

BHĀNUMATĪ. How canst thou be aught but averse that wilt not touch me?

KING.

If I should die, then thy life too must pass,  
But from that doom I fain would keep thee safe  
By vows that win me immortality.

BHĀNUMATĪ (in terror, aside). Surely he wisheth to desert me! Alas, how can I avert this? Well, I'll try! (Looks at the KING, feigning to tremble with anger)

KING (aside).

Why doth she cast that baleful glance on me,  
More deadly than the venom of the fiends,  
That o'er and o'er hath plunged my very soul  
Deep in the blackness of the pit of sin.

Nay, more,

Thrice evil is the lure of woman's eyes  
That snare the hearts of all, e'en of the sage—  
How then can I, whom madness dooms, escape?

BHĀNUMATĪ (aside, joyfully). My lord seemeth almost inclined toward me! (Again looks at him, feigning a smile)

KING (averting his eyes). Enough of this side-long leer!

While o'er my heart the mist of folly lay,  
Her fawn-soft glances ravished my sick soul.

[23] BHĀNUMATĪ (tearfully). O Sire! How changed thou art!

KING.

Naught canst thou win with smiles or gain with tears;  
Enough of words of love, lament no more!  
Lo, I renounce the vain gauds of this world,  
And all earth's sorrows fall from me at last—  
O wife so fair, vain are thy blandishments!

Nay, more,

If Wisdom be my staff,<sup>1</sup> and Self-control,  
E'en Rambhā hath no power over me;  
And if my soul be pure, nor Menakā  
Nor Love with blunted dart can wound me then;  
Each passion conquered, lovely Urvaśī  
Herself could never lead from virtue's way;  
And if Delusion,<sup>2</sup> that I once held dear,  
Be shaken off, I fear not woman's wiles.

BHĀNUMATĪ. Yet even so, Sire, thou, who art like Janaka,<sup>3</sup>  
may'st easily gain knowledge in thy very home.

KING. Nay, Janaka and the rest won while yet alive the  
release they had merited through many births, but that may not  
be my lot, with my crude attachments to the joys of earth.  
And thus,

I shall abide no more within that home  
Which stays me from my holy teacher's lore,  
Mine only guide from earth to realms above.

Even though I gain truth, I cannot practise it perfectly in my  
palace, for,

Lo, one by one our wishes fade and die,  
The while with greater love our fond hopes cling  
To that which still remaineth unto us;  
Thus Karma bringeth man his bitterest pain,  
And woundeth evermore his bleeding heart.

Alas, the evil of it!

Asceticism's fervor I sought not,  
And lo, my soul must burn<sup>4</sup> forevermore.  
I have acquired rich treasure of this world,  
But not the peace that dwells in hermits' caves;

<sup>1</sup> *rambhā*, feminine to pun with the following *Rambhā*, who was, like Menakā and Urvaśī, a nymph of superhuman and seductive loveliness.

<sup>2</sup> *māyā*, also feminine.

<sup>3</sup> See the material collected by Muir, *OST*. i.<sup>4</sup> 426-430, regarding this king, who in his own station succeeded in surpassing the Brahmans in theological learning, and became a Brahman himself.

<sup>4</sup> Reading *prataptah* for *prataptāh*. Cf. *Vāirāgya-Śat.* 12-18 (*Ind. Spr.* 4631, 2015).

The evil of the night I know too well,  
 But not the joy that comes at holy eve;  
 All folly I have moved to sate my lusts,  
 But Him that moveth not,<sup>1</sup> I may not move.

(*Walks away, averting his face*)

[24] BHĀNUMATĪ. Deceiver, why dost thou leave me ?  
 (*Catches him by the hem of his cloak, which the KING abandons as he goes. BHĀNUMATĪ runs and falls at his feet*)

KING (*stopping angrily*). Ha, thou woman full of evil!

Thou art a mass of marrow and of filth,  
 All foulness lurks beneath thy hairy skin  
 That clothes like rags the bones thy sinews bind—  
 No tongue could tell what vileness dwells in thee !

Nay, more,

I will not touch thy rounded cheek, wherein  
 Death doth abide, as in thy swelling breast;  
 Nor will I kiss thy mouth, saliva-filled:  
 What are thy bones, thy flesh ? Should I embrace  
 A bellows filled with some plague-laden air ?  
 If what we cast in the foul draught we loathe,  
 Why not hate woman, viler and more vile ?<sup>2</sup>

(*Draws his hand away. BHĀNUMATĪ falls weeping at his feet.*  
*Aside, sadly*) How hard to subdue the passions !

Except my will be made of adamant,  
 How can I conquer every earthly lust ?

(*Enter DEVATILAKA*)

DEVATILAKA. The king seemeth to waver. Now's my chance ! (*Approaches*) Please the queen henceforth ! Alas, why dost thou renounce the delights of her affection ?

KING (*releasing his feet*).

Woman gives joy to fools a little time,  
 But at the last doth bring them endless woe;  
 Sweeter than wine her ripe lips seem to men,  
 Yet are more deadly than the venomous cup,  
 And thus they seek her whom they most should shun.

<sup>1</sup> The All-Soul.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Vāirāgya-Śat.* 19 (*Ind. Spr.* 7186).

[25] And again,

Thy valor she destroys, thy wealth she wastes,  
 Maddens thy heart, and makes thy foot to slip,  
 Then mocketh thee when thou hast done her will.  
 Thy kinsfolk, dear as life, she doth estrange,  
 And bringeth lusty youth to doddering age—  
 All this doth woman do, man's deadliest bane!

BHĀNUMATĪ. Alas, where have our caresses vanished ?

KING.

“One yet more dear than thou hath come to me;  
 As dew upon the lotus is his glance,  
 E'en though thy smile doth seem ambrosia;  
 Strong was our love, but now a little while,  
 Fierce as the flames that through the forest rage,  
 Must be our pain of parting”—Such the signs  
 Of youth's disease that endeth but in death.

DEVATILAKA. Sire, how is youth a disease ?

KING. Hearken,<sup>1</sup>

It causeth love, a fever hard to bear,  
 Maketh thine eyes to waver, swells thy frame  
 With passion, worketh every evil change  
 Whereat thy friends lament, because of her  
 Who bringeth this destruction on thy youth.

BHĀNUMATĪ (*Pretending secrecy, toward the wings*). Vāsan-tikā, bring our child here; put him before us and I will dispel my lord's madness.

KING (*aside*). This will indeed be hard to bear!

[26] (*Enter the CHILD<sup>2</sup> who stands near his mother*)

BHĀNUMATĪ (*choking with sobs as she holds the CHILD before the KING*). Sire, who now will rear this child ?

KING (*filled with the pain of renunciation, aside*).

Sages there are indeed who are so great  
 That they may win Discrimination's<sup>3</sup> bliss;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Śrīgāra-Śat. 50 (*Ind. Spr.* 5728).

<sup>2</sup> See Jackson, “Children on the Stage in the ancient Hindu Drama,” in *The Looker-On*, iv. (June, 1897), 509-516.

<sup>3</sup> *kāivalya, viveka*, the technical terms for the complete isolation of soul (*puruṣa*) from matter (*prakṛti*), which brings final release from reincarnation, Müller, 406, 488; Garbe, *Philosophy of Ancient India*, 15.

Yet if e'en they must guard 'gainst children's smiles,  
How can I e'er suppress a father's love ?

DEVATILAKA (*almost joyfully*). Sire, now answer!  
KING. Why be anxious for the protection of a foe ?

Whence comes this knowledge of life's mystery  
That now I see a second self in him ?  
Oh, wherefore, since renunciation's won,  
Should birth and death endure in weary round,  
And I again beget myself to die ?

Grant I would produce new life, even so,  
'Tis Fate alone that ruleth over all,  
Nor lives the man who may avert its will,  
If he leaves Visnu, Lord of Truth above,  
Or slayeth Brahmans bidden as his guests.

DEVATILAKA (*indicating the CHILD*). Ah, pity him !

Yea, call him nigh, athrob with tender love,  
His tiny garments fluttering in the breeze !  
Oh, husband, King, who in the years to come  
Will take this little child upon his knee,  
And with his hand sweet with myrobalan  
Wipe with his mantle's hem the dust-stained cheek  
Of thy one babe who smiles on thee today ?

KING (*aside*). Whose heart would such tricks move ?

Yon fleeting soul, defiled with sin and shame,  
Would dull the lustre of my purity.

Nay, more,

What reck I of a son, a loathsome worm  
Drawn from an ulcer folk call womankind ?

[27] DEVATILAKA. Sire, the wise men say that sons are the  
highways to heaven's bliss.

KING.

E'en pain's reward to pain's destruction tends,  
Luring us on by false hopes to our doom ;  
But Fate is mighty to avert this woe,  
And sages live but for the peace divine—  
Thus seeming sorrow makes for greater joy.

So philosophers say: "How many the bitter days of sorrow, how great the blessed light of bliss!" And again,

Each drop in the vast ocean of Brahm's peace  
Is joy whereby my soul doth pass to heaven;  
Earth's poor delights my spirit craves no more.

DEVATILAKA. Alas, what will become of thy fortune and all besides that depends on the king?

KING.

Let Fortune dwell with him who longs for her;  
From me both love and hate are passed away.

(*Bows reverently*)

Oh, pardon me, ye righteous Brahman host,  
For that dark folly where I dwelt so long;  
But now your wisdom slays mine ignorance  
And guides my soul unto the Godhead's rest.

DEVATILAKA. Sire, this bearing is hard for any to sustain, even for thee!

KING.

Henceforth I'll wander where my fancy leads;  
My food shall be bestowed by pious hands,  
My hermit's cloak shall be mine only couch,  
My dwelling 'neath the shadow of the trees.  
The darkness of life's sorrow fades away  
Before the brightness of the way of peace—  
Through cold and heat my worship shall be His,  
And even in this world I'll win to joy;  
How could such bliss come to an earthly home?

Moreover, enough of this burden's restraint! Lo,

Life's but a drop in the vast stream of Time,  
That sweeps with mighty current on to death;  
[28] A little while it will abide with thee,  
But when it fain would pass, ah, stay it not!

Nay, more,

To him who hath attained to Wisdom's bliss,  
The wealth and power of the world are naught,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Vdirdgya-Sat.* 21, 30, 33, 51, 77, 84, 100 (*Ind. Spr.* 4872, 726, 7228, 4019, 4772, 4585, 1956).

Nor can their vanity deceive his soul  
 Who knoweth that their reign o'er him is done.

Consider yet again,

Strange is this motley world wherein we dwell,  
 A blot upon the tablet of the sky,  
 Born of the doubts of God the Artisan;  
 To some 'tis one long dream of agony,  
 While others call it by Delusion's name  
 Or e'en a phantom city of the clouds.

**GORAKṢANĀTHA.**<sup>1</sup> Good, my son, good! Thou hast surpassed all souls that share in Nirvāṇa! Excellency, enough of this restraint of the irrestrainable! Let this prince<sup>2</sup> be consecrated to his kingdom. I shall uphold the king who favoreth its protection.

**DEVATILAKA** (*sighing*). Then let your majesty give the commandment!

(*BHĀNUMATĪ weeps, overcome with grief*)

**GORAKṢANĀTHA.** Lady, thou shalt be united with thy lord again in the instant of his immortality.<sup>3</sup> (*To the KING*) Sire, can I do thee service more?

**KING.** Sir, henceforth all is well.

**GORAKṢANĀTHA.** So be it then!

May righteous deeds be blessed forevermore,  
 Long live our monarch in his subjects' love,  
 Sweet fortune smile on every noble soul;  
 And while a host of friends, by wisdom won,  
 Applaud the virtues he hath writ herein,  
 May this song of the bard Harihara  
 Find grace and favor with his audience!

(*Exeunt omnes*)

END OF ACT V.

*Here endeth the play written by the noble Harihara Upādhyāya and entitled The Renunciation of Bhartr̥hari.*

<sup>1</sup> There is no stage-direction to mark his entrance. As he has evidently listened to the long conversation, he may have come on with the King at the beginning of the act.

<sup>2</sup> The child.

<sup>3</sup> An interesting modern parallel is the beautiful fourth picture of the fifth act of *The Darling of the Gods*, representing the reunion of Yo-San with her lover, Prince Kara, in Heaven after a period of a thousand years, when she has expiated her attempt on earth to withhold him from his duty as leader of the Samurai.

## APPENDIX.

*The life of Bhartrhari as told by Abraham Roger.*

[217] Desen Barthrouherri is gheweest een Soon van eenen Sandragoupeti Narája. Van desen Sandragoupeti verhalen sy dat hy soude zijn geweest een Bramine, ende soude ghehadt hebben vier ghetroude Vrouwen, doch yder van verscheyde order oder Geslachte, de eene van de order der Bramines, de ander van de order der Settreas, de derde van de order der Weinsjaes, de vierde van de Soudraes: ende by yder soude hy een Soon ghehadt hebben. Van de Bramenesche een Soon ghenaemt Wararóutji; van de Settreasche een Soon ghenaemt Wickerama-arca; van de Weinjasche een Soon ghenaemt Betti; ende van de Soudrasche, desen gheseyden Barthrouherri. De eerste soude gheworden zijn een wijs Man, die een deel van den Vedam, dat is, haer VVet-boeck, heeft verklaert, ende geschreven van den loop des Hemels. Den tweeden soude geworden zijn een Koninck, die machtigh is gheweest; ende den derden soude sijn Raet geweest zijn. Den vierden, welck is gheweest den gheseyden Barthrouherri, soude oock geweest zijn een wijs ende verstandigh Man, ende heeft, na haer segghen, ghemaect drie hondert Spreucken; hondert van den wegh na den Hemel, hondert van den redelijken ommegangh der Menschen, ende hondert Amoureuse. Sy seggen dat hy dese tot verlichtinghe der Menschen heeft ghemaect, ende vermits dat de Boecken ontalbaer waren, dat hy't mergh daer uyt heeft getrocken, ende in korte Spreucken voor-ghestelt. Yeder Boeck is af-gedeelt in thien Capittelen: ende yeder Capittel begrijpt thien Spreucken; doch in twee Capittelen sult ghy bevinden, dat de thiende Spreucke ontbreekt, mits dat se oock in den Originelen niet en was, waer uyt dese Spreucken my den Bramine Padmanaba heeft vertaelt, uyt-gheseyt de Amoureuse die hy om eenighe reden, soo het scheen, my niet en wilde verduytschen. Desen Barthrouherri is in den eersten, segghense, seer tot de wellust der Vrouwen gheneghen gheweest, ende is ghetrouw gheweest met drie hondert Vrouwen. Doch den Vader van den gheseyden, de doot nakende, heeft sijn vier Kinderen tot hem gheroopen, ende hy verghe-noeghde hem seer [218] over de drie; maer met een droevigh ghelaet sach hy Barthrouherri aen, de welcke een Soudra was;

want dewijl dat hy soo seer tot de Vrouwen was gheneghen, ende soo veel der selve hadde, soo vreesde hy dat hy een groot Gheslaght na sich soude laten, die langh na hem overigh souden zijn. 't VVelck hem gheen kleyne droefheyt en was: want sy zijn van ghevoelen dat de levende Kinderen uyt een Braminische Vrouwe gheteeelt door hare goede werken hare Ouders, de welcke overleden zijn, kunnen te recht brenghen, ende voor haer den Hemel verdienien, oock selfs uyt de Helle verlossen. Maer ter contrarie, dat so yemant Kinderen uyt een Soudrasche Vrouwe verweckt heeft, dat de selve, so lange daer eenige nakomelingen van overigh zijn, van den Hemel verstecken blijft. Soo dat, of wel het den Bramines geoorloft is met een Soudrasche Vrouvv te trouwen, nochtans houden sy't voor groote schande ende sonde uyt den Soudraes nakomelingen te hebben. Doch Barthrouherri merckende de droefheyt sijns Vaders, heeft sich begeven buyten het oogh sijnes Vaders, in een ander vertreck, ende heeft sich het hayr laten afscheeren, ende hy nam een root kleet als een Sanjási, ende in dusdanigen gewaet quam hy wederom by sijn Vader, 'twelck den Vader siende is seer vergenoeght geworden, ende beloofde hem dat hy soo langh soude leven als de VVerelt soude zijn (sy seggen dat hy onsichtbaar als een Engel op de VVerelt verkeert). Daer na sijn Vader overleden zijnde, soo heeft hy sich begeven om de VVerelt te besoecken, doch de drie hondert Vrouwen volghden hem na; doch hy seyde tot haer, ick en magh niet meer met u verkeeren, blijft; doen seyden sy, wat sal ons wesen? want wy sullen VVeduwen zijn? doen seyde hy, ghy moght yeder een Man soecken, en trouwen, ende ten sal voor u geen sonde zijn, ende dit sal't Geslacht van drie hondert zijn; ende soo wanneer een Vrouw haer Man komt te verliesen in dit Geslacht, ten sal geen schande, noch sonde zijn, dat de Vrouw andermael trouwe, ende dit Gheslacht werden de Cauwreas ghenoemt: welck is een Geslacht onder de Soudraes, ende is een seer groot Geslacht, ja wel het grootste onder de Soudraes in ghetal, want alle andere mogen in dit Gheslacht aenghenomen werden: daerom sy oock seggen dat het is als de Zee, welck het water van alle Rivieren, die daer in loopen, ontfanght.

## TRANSLATION.

[217] This Barthrouherri [Bhartrhari] was a son of a certain Sandragoupeti Narája [Candragupta Nārāyaṇa(?)].<sup>1</sup> Of this Sandragoupeti they say that he was a Bramin [Brahman], and had married four wives, but each of a different rank or caste, the one from the rank of the Bramines, the other from the rank of the Settreas [Kṣatriyas], the third from the rank of the Weinsjas [Vāisyas], the fourth from the Soudras [Śūdras]: and by each he had a son. Of the Bramin a son named Wararóutje [Vararuci]; from the Settreas a son named Wickerama-arca [Vikramārka, Vikrama]; from the Weinsja a son named Betti [Bhaṭṭi];<sup>2</sup> and from the Soudra, the Barthrouherri aforesaid. The first is said to have been a wise man, who explained a portion of the Vedam, that is, their Knowledge-Book, and wrote of the course of the heavens. The second was a king, who was mighty; and the third was his counsellor. The fourth, which was the Barthrouherri aforesaid, was also a wise and understanding man, and made, according to their words, three hundred sayings; a hundred of the way to heaven, a hundred of rational association with mankind, and a hundred amorous. They say that he made these for the illumination of mankind, and since books were innumerable, that he drew the marrow from them, and presented it in short sayings. Each book is divided into ten chapters: and each chapter contains ten sayings; but in two chapters ye shall find that the tenth saying is lacking, since it was not in the original, wherefrom the Bramin Padmanaba [Padmanābha]<sup>3</sup> translated to me these sayings, besides the amorous ones which he, on account of certain phrases, as it seems, would not render for me. This Barthrou-

<sup>1</sup> Apparently either Candragupta I. (reigned 319-c. 350) or, more probably, Candragupta II. (reigned 410-415), Duff, *Chronology of India*, 27-30, 283; Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, 320-321. Both these kings also bore the title of Vikramāditya, which explains the fact that Vikrama is called Candragupta's son below. The tradition that the poet was at Vikrama's court is of interest here.

<sup>2</sup> It is worth noting that some commentators ascribe the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* to the grammarian Bhartrhari, Macdonell, 329.

<sup>3</sup> An outcast Brahman, but evidently a man of intelligence; cf. the preface of Sceperus to the *Open-Deure*, 4-5.

herri at first, they say, was much inclined unto luxury with women and married three hundred wives.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the father of the aforesaid, death approaching, called his four children to him, and rejoiced exceedingly [218] over the three; but with a sad countenance he looked on Barthrouherri, the which was a Soudra; for that he was so much inclined unto women, and had so many of them, therefore he feared that he would leave after him a great lineage, which should long remain after him. The which was no small sorrow to him: for they are of the opinion that the living children born of a Bramin wife through the good works of their parents, the which survive, can bring them to the right, and win heaven for them, and deliver them from hell. But on the contrary, that whoever has begotten children by a Soudra wife, that he, so long as any descendants survive, remains deprived of heaven. So that, even though it is permitted the Bramins to wed a Soudra wife, nevertheless they hold it for great shame and sin to have descendants by the Soudras. Nevertheless Barthrouherri, marking the sorrow of his father, went from the sight of his father into another room, and let shear off his hair, and he took a red robe as a Sanjási [Sannyāsi], and in such raiment he came again to his father, the which his father seeing was very well content, and promised him that he should live so long as the world should be (they say that he goes about the world invisible as an angel). Thereafter his father being dead, he went to see the world, but the three hundred women followed after him; but he said unto them, I may have no more to do with you, remain; then said they, what shall become of us? for shall we be widows? then said he, ye may each seek a husband, and wed, and it shall be no sin for you, and it shall be a caste of three hundred; and so whenever a woman comes to lose her husband in that caste, it shall be no shame, nor sin, that the woman marry again, and that family is called Cauwres [Kafirs],<sup>2</sup> which is a caste among

<sup>1</sup> Thus one wife for each verse of his poems. This legend recalls the analogous one told of Amaru, the greatest epigrammatic poet of India excepting Bhartrhari, who is said to have had a hundred wives corresponding to the (original?) hundred stanzas of his *śataka*. See Simon, *Ueber die Handschriften und Recensionen des Amaruçataka*, 18.

<sup>2</sup> 'Infidels,' and hence apparently applied here to outcaste Śūdras. The term was borrowed by the Portuguese from the Arabs who apply *كفار* to all pagans. Padmanābha used Portuguese in his conversations

the Soudras, and is a very great caste, belike the greatest in number among the Soudras, for all others may be accepted in that caste; wherefore also they say that it is as the sea, which receives the waters of all rivers that run therein.

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with Roger (*Open-Deure*, introd., 5), and thus brought the word from the west to the east of India. Roger gives a few more details on these out-castes, *ibid.*, 7-8. On the history of the word see Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*,<sup>2</sup> 141-142.

*The Influence of War and of Agriculture upon the Religion of Kayans and Sea Dyaks of Borneo.*—By Miss MARGARETTA MORRIS, Philadelphia, Penna.

THE native tribes of Borneo afford peculiar opportunities for studying the effect of economic conditions upon religious ideas and customs. In the first place they are comparatively isolated and therefore little affected by foreign influence, which has touched only a fringe of the coast and has not penetrated far enough into the interior to alter the customs of the mass of the people. In the second place, a still greater advantage to the student is in the nature of the material available. For in the British possessions especially, the government officials, the explorers, many of whom have gone out for the special purpose of studying the natives, and I must add, such missionaries as Archdeacon Perham, have been gifted with the invaluable qualities of sympathy and the scientific spirit. Another advantage not to be overlooked is the communicativeness of the people. Unlike the Australians, they seem to have no religious principle of secrecy; on the contrary, the art of self-expression is assiduously cultivated, and the high esteem in which oratory is held induces garrulosity rather than reticence.

For my present purpose I have chosen two tribes of Sarawak, one inland and one coast tribe, to illustrate the economic origin of two religious ideals.

There are two classes of deities worshipped in Borneo which are, if I may be pardoned the colloquial expression, not on speaking terms with each other. They are the tutelary spirits of war and of agriculture. Tappa, the harvest god of one tribe, is, they say, of so pure and gentle a nature that he cannot endure the fierce gods of war, and will come to no feast where they are invoked.<sup>1</sup>

This conflict in the religion represents a conflict in economic pursuits. While the war-path, which is nothing more than a predatory raid, is systematically followed as a means of liveli-

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<sup>1</sup> Sir Hugh Low, *Sarawak, its Inhabitants and Productions*, p. 254.

hood; on the other hand, rice culture, for which the climate and soil of Borneo are admirably adapted, is also a widespread dependence. And these two are more or less incompatible, requiring different manner of life, different laws and customs, different organization of society, and different personal qualifications.

In the tribes with which this paper is concerned both these activities are well developed.

The Sea Dyaks, as far back as we can trace them, were a peaceful agricultural people, who came from further inland to the coast in search of new farming lands. Wars on a small scale of course they had, hereditary tribal feuds, and disputes about land. But it remained for the Malays, with whom they came in contact on the coast, to teach them sea-faring, and piracy at the same time. They were apt pupils, and soon could lead the Malays in expeditions for plunder, though rice-growing continued to be their chief occupation and source of wealth.<sup>1</sup>

With the Kayans, who inhabit the fertile river valleys of the interior, conquest seems to have preceded cultivation. About a hundred and fifty years ago, they came to the Barram and neighboring river basins, a fierce race of warriors armed with iron weapons, conquering and enslaving the weak agriculturists of that district, and settling down upon their lands. Having settled, they cultivated rice, but only as a secondary dependence. They still live chiefly by trapping and fishing; seeking slaves, land, and plunder from their weaker neighbors whom they are constantly raiding.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Keppel, *Visit to the Indian Archipelago in H. M. S. Meander*, vol. ii, pp. 102-3, quoted by Roth, *Natives of Sarawak*, i. p. 4; Parpar, *North Borneo*, quoted by Roth, i. p. 40; Sir Charles Brooke, *Ten Years in Sarawak*, ii, p. 327, quoted by Roth, i. p. 10; Keppel, *Expedition to Borneo of H.M.S. Dido* (American edition of 1846), p. 239; Low, *op. cit.*, pp. 166, 363; Sir Spencer St. John, quoted by Roth, ii, p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> The word Kayan is used in two senses by writers on Borneo, to denote a large ethnic group, and a small branch of it. Taking Kayans in the broader sense, they occupy the whole of the interior of the island as far as the Malay coast settlements on the northwest, and the country of the Sea Dyaks on the west, directly across the island to probably a similar distance from the eastern shore. They include the Ukits and Pakatans, examples of the lowest type of roving savages living in trees, as well as many more civilized tribes. According to Sir James Brooke, these all show marks of consanguinity and national character-

As both these tribes are now given to warfare, we find in the religion of both the ideals of war; as both have agriculture, we find in the religion of both the ideals growing out of farming. And in each the degree to which these ideals obtain is directly proportioned to the relative strength of the economic influences.

The religion of war centers about the worship of the heads which are taken from enemies slain in battle, the famous custom of head-hunting with its attendant belief and legend. From being mere trophies, these heads have acquired the attributes of gods, and have gathered a mass of ceremonial and sacrificial customs. Elaborate ceremonies attend their home-coming; feasts are given in their honor; they are sacrificed to, prayed

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istics. The present study is concerned with only one of the highest branches of these people, the Kayans proper, a geographical and linguistic group, found in the upper basins of the Barram and adjacent streams.

It is difficult to find an accurate nomenclature for the subdivisions of the natives of Borneo. An ethnic group such as the Kayans hardly differs enough from the other natives to be called a race; while the word "tribe" is already used in three less inclusive senses, (1) to denote the longhouse, or village under one chief, (2) an alliance of villages in the same river basin having similar customs ("in almost every river basin, or even on individual tributaries, the customs of the natives are not the same." Roth, *Introd.*, p. xii), and (3) a quasi-ethnic linguistic or cultural group, such as Kayans proper, living in the same district.

Sir James Brooke in Mundy, *Narrative of Events in Borneo*, i, p. 257; Sir Charles Brooke, i, pp. 72-3 and ii, pp. 300-1, quoted by Roth, i, p. 18; Chief Resident, F. R. O. Maxwell, quoted by Roth, i, p. 15; Hose and McDougall, *Jour. Anth. Inst.* xxxi, p. 188, xxiii, pp. 159, 157, 160; Low, p. 821 ff.; A. C. Haddon, *Head Hunters, Black, White, and Brown*, pp. 823, 360.

The group known as Sea Dyaks may perhaps be taken to correspond with the Kayans in the inclusive sense, though they are not so numerous and do not show so wide variations of culture. As a rule the divisions of Sea Dyaks, such as the Sakaran or Batang Lupars, live each in a river basin (with tributaries) from which it takes its name. But sometimes, as in the case of the Sibuyaus, a tribe has been driven from its original home and scattered. So that now we have several tribes calling themselves Sibuyaus, and speaking the Sea Dyak language with the Sibuyau accent, living on different rivers, and having slightly different customs, thus forming distinct smaller subdivisions. Within these again are the longhouses or villages, the smallest geographical and political unit, as among the Kayans. Low, p. 166-7; Mundy, ii, p. 114; Sir James Brooke, in Mundy, i, pp. 217, 371; Brooke in Keppel's *Dido*, pp. 54, 61, 177; Roth, i, p. 8.

to, a fire is kept lighted to warm them, and they preside over every village feast, being always given their due portion of the good things.<sup>1</sup>

What, we may ask, is the reason that head-hunting has become so large a part of the warrior's religion? The captured head is the symbol of the successful raid, which brings to Kayan or Dyak wealth in plunder and slaves and land, and as a symbol of valuable things has in itself a sort of derived importance. But a deeper cause of its full religious significance is that the deification of skulls has a real economic value to these people.

If a people is going to live by war, it must offer every inducement to the warlike virtues, such as skill in attack and bravery. Efficient incentives are found in the head-hunting customs of these tribes. Kayan parents consider only youths who have taken heads as suitable husbands for their daughters. Among the piratical tribes of the Sea Dyaks, the Sarebas and Sakaran (until the English suppression of head-hunting made this rule unenforceable), custom required that a man should take a head before marrying; but with the Sibuyaus, a Sea Dyak tribe who in consequence of constant reverses have become more peaceable and taken to trade instead of piracy, the requirement has fallen into disuse. An old Sibuyau chieftain lamented its loss as an incentive to bravery.<sup>2</sup> A further religious goad to war is the irksome mourning taboo after the death of a near relative or a chief, which cannot be lifted until a fresh head is obtained. The removal of the taboo by bringing home a head, described in song as a precious ornament, and compared to a lump of gold, a lump of silver, and various favorite jungle fruits, is the occasion for one of their greatest festivals. The Kayans still practice this taboo strictly; while the Sea Dyaks, coast tribes more under control of the English, find it difficult to get the head, and sometimes have the religious feast without it, or with an

<sup>1</sup> W. H. Furness, *Home Life of the Head Hunters*, pp. 65, 89, 91 ff.; Haddon, pp. 361, 396, 398 ff.; Horsburgh, *Sketches in Borneo*, pp. 28-33, quoted by Roth, ii, p. 169; Low, pp. 206-7.

<sup>2</sup> Hose, J.A.I. xxiii, p. 168; Low, p. 215; Brooke in Keppel's *Dido*, p. 85; A. H. Everett, *Sarawak Gazette*, No. 78, quoted by Roth, ii, p. 164.

old one borrowed for the occasion.<sup>1</sup> We need only add that bravery is rewarded with individual honors, with permission to wear the sacred hornbill feathers, or to have one's war record tattooed in symbols, to see how the religious customs help make the warrior.<sup>2</sup>

And indeed not customs alone serve this purpose, but religious beliefs add their quota of hopefulness of success and compensation for disaster. There is a Kayan belief that a certain charm tied to the sword will make it deal death at a single blow.<sup>3</sup> When the new boat of the Sea Dyak is launched for piracy, he feels sure of success after the men and women of the tribe have won the spirits' favor by sacrifice and prayer.<sup>4</sup> Then for both Kayan and Sea Dyak, will not all the birds of the forest aid them with encouraging cries or timely warning of danger?<sup>5</sup> Especially the hawk, the war-bird of many tribes, and father-in-law of all the other birds, who brings messages from the great spirit.<sup>6</sup> The dangers of the war-path are many; dangers of ambush, of trees half cut through, ready to be pushed down upon the boats as they pass, of snares in the thick undergrowth, and stealthy attack by night.<sup>7</sup> Is it not reasonable to suppose that the head-hunter would be less strong to face them were it not for his trust in supernatural aid?<sup>8</sup> But supposing his own head should be taken? Then the Kayan warrior will go directly to the happy fields of Long Julian, reserved for those who die in battle; if his record is good he will have no difficulty in crossing the log that bridges the ditch full of slime and maggots, into which an evil demon pushes the coward.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Haddon, p. 395; Archdeacon Perham, *Journal of the Straits Asiatic Society*, No. 14, pp. 295, 299, and No. 2, p. 181; Sir Spencer St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East* (2d ed.), i, pp. 78, 74, 82, 119.

<sup>2</sup> Hose, J.A.I. xxiii, p. 168; Brooke Low, quoted by Roth, ii, pp. 130, 184; Haddon, p. 308.

<sup>3</sup> Furness, *Head Hunters*, p. 74; Ida Pfeiffer, *Meine Zweite Weltreise*, p. 107, quoted by Roth, ii, p. 145.

<sup>4</sup> St. John, i, 74.

<sup>5</sup> Hose and McDougall, J.A.I. xxxi, pp. 189, 190; Haddon, p. 387; Perham, J.S.A.S., No. 8, pp. 139, 148, and No. 10, p. 218, and *Mission Field*, 1871, p. 502, quoted by Roth, i, p. 256.

<sup>6</sup> Furness, *Head Hunters*, p. 88.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. pp. 6, 76; Furness, *A Sketch of Folk Lore in Borneo*, pp. 14-19; Hose, *Geographical Journal*, i, p. 199, quoted by Roth, i, p. 219.

The Sea Dyaks have likewise a "bridge of fear" which may correspond to the Kayan log. And in the Dyak heaven virtue is rewarded, virtue however of many kinds. Bravery is the virtue *par excellence* of the Kayan, but to the Sea Dyak with his larger interest in agriculture, the virtues of the settled life are equally important.<sup>1</sup>

This head-hunting is a beneficent custom, an old chief told Dr. Furness, because it makes your enemies your friends. After death the spirit of the slain warrior renounces his own tribe and becomes the tutelary deity of his captors, bringing them all good fortune.<sup>2</sup> It is hardly a beneficent custom from our point of view. But from that of a savage tribe, living on the exploits of its members, the religion that cultivates cunning, bravery, and the desire to kill has more than a fictitious advantage.

So much for its influence upon the individual. For the tribe as a whole, the religion of head-hunting provides for the organization of the war-path. One Kayan custom of this sort has a defensive purpose. After a successful raid, the longhouse is tabooed for ten days and no one may leave it. This, as Dr. Furness points out, is evidently to keep the warriors at home to defend the house against the retaliating expedition which is almost certain to come.<sup>3</sup> Once more, the good Kayans must destroy all traces of camp when on the war-path, or they will offend the spirits and bring bad luck on the expedition, or in the plain English of utilitarianism, will leave traces of their whereabouts for the benefit of the enemy.<sup>4</sup> But the greatest need of the tribe in war is obedience and loyalty to the chiefs, which the religion does much to cultivate. In the longhouse the chief has the middle apartment, and just outside of it on the verandah is the lawful place for the venerated skulls to hang.<sup>5</sup> Such honors and religious marks of respect encourage that faith in the chief by virtue of which he controls his followers.

<sup>1</sup> Perham, J.S.A.S., No. 14, p. 299; Horsburgh, p. 28, quoted by Roth, i, p. 218; Sir Charles Brooke, i, 55, quoted by Roth, i, p. 218; St. John, i, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Furness, *Head Hunters*, pp. 59-61.

<sup>3</sup> Furness, *Ibid.*, p. 96.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>5</sup> Furness, *Head Hunters*, p. 5; Brooke Low, quoted by Roth, ii, p. 159.

The authority of the chief, however, varies greatly in the different tribes. Sir James Brooke, after visiting the unwarlike Sibuyau Sea Dyaks, reported little difference in appearance and position between the chief and his most humble follower.<sup>1</sup> Somewhat more compact organization is seen among the Sea Dyak pirates of Sakaran and Sarebas, who found it necessary to have each war-canoe under a chief whose word should be law, and the whole fleet of both tribes under a common leader. It was profitable for the Sakaran and Sarebas to unite thus, and it was possible on account of the juxtaposition of their rivers, which they have connected with artificial jungle paths.<sup>2</sup> The Kayans, however, are welded into still stronger alliances. Tribes living in the same river basin acknowledge besides the village chief, who controls the war-canoe, the authority of a district chief, whose commands are never disregarded; in which respect he is far above the leader of the Sakaran and Sarebas fleet, who only advises.<sup>3</sup> The authority of the chief is greater in proportion to the degree of the tribe's dependence upon warfare, and consequently the head-hunting customs to support this authority are more extensive. The Kayans have several customs to exalt the chief, which, so far as I have been able to determine, belong to them and not to others. Such are the assumption of the funeral taboo by the whole tribe on the occasion of the death of a chief, followed by the ceremony of placing a portion of the skull on the chief's grave when the head-feast removes the taboo;<sup>4</sup> the naming feast of the chief's son or daughter, when the whole village is called together for the

<sup>1</sup> Sir James Brooke in Keppel's *Dido*, p. 39; *Ibid.* in Mundy, i, p. 364.

<sup>2</sup> Low, pp. 169, 183-187.

<sup>3</sup> Haddon, pp. 324, 414-415, 859; Low, p. 322; Furness, *Folk Lore*, pp. 5, 9.

<sup>4</sup> Furness, *Head Hunters*, pp. 89-94. The mourning taboo, ending in a head-hunt, as observed by the Sea Dyaks, seems to be generally for relatives rather than chiefs. Among the Ballau tribe the death of any member of the tribe necessitates the taboo of the whole country. While the custom itself is similar to the Kayan custom, and in both cases serves as an inducement to warfare, the application among the Sea Dyaks is more democratic. Cf. Mrs. Chalmers, *Gospel Mission*, June, 1859, p. 84, quoted by Roth, i, p. 258; Horsburgh, p. 18, and St. John, i, p. 78.

religious rite and the ensuing merry-making;<sup>1</sup> and the custom (not practiced by the Sea Dyaks) of sacrificing a slave at the grave of a chief to serve him in the next world.<sup>2</sup> Even in Borneo, religion is, as Bacon says, "the chief band of human society."

If these considerations of its value are not enough to show the origin of head-worship in conquest,<sup>3</sup> a further proof may

<sup>1</sup> Furness, *Head Hunters*, p. 18; St. John, i, p. 121. Every Kayan child has a "naming feast" before which he or she is not counted as a member of the family. In the case of ordinary parents only the family and a few friends assist. The Sea Dyaks have not the ceremony at the naming of a child, though the "Besant," a ceremony to invoke the good will of the spirits for the child, may be taken to correspond to the Kayan naming ceremony. But the Sea Dyak custom is not universal, and there is no special difference, so far as I can find, between the "Besant" of a chief's child and that of an ordinary child, though probably the magnificence of the feast is proportioned to the resources of the parents. Cf. F. W. Leggatt, quoted by Roth, i, p. 101; Perham, J.S.A.S., No. 8, pp. 135 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Charles Brooke, i, pp. 36, 74, quoted by Roth, i, p. 157; Burns, *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, iii, p. 145; Hose, J.A.I. xxiii, p. 165; Low, p. 335. The Bishop of Labuan states that "Sea Dyaks formerly killed slaves for the use of their dead," *Trans. of the Ethnological Society*, ii, p. 82. But I have failed to find any corroboration of this, and as much of the information in this article is evidently from report rather than personal observation, I think we may be justified in holding some doubt on this point, particularly since evidence points to the fact that slavery, along with piracy, is a recent introduction among the Sea Dyaks, and as they treat their slaves with more consideration and give them more privileges than do other tribes. Cf. St. John, i, p. 88, and Brooke Low, quoted by Roth, ii, p. 210.

<sup>3</sup> Numerous theories have been advanced as to the motive for head-hunting, chief of which is that it is to please the women. Doubtless it does please women trained in warrior ideals. And for this Haddon gives an excellent reason: "The fact of a young man being sufficiently brave and energetic to go head-hunting would promise well for his ability to protect a wife," p. 394. Roth adds to this, "the natural bloodthirstiness of the animal in man to account for a great deal of head-taking," ii, p. 163. But a chief's narrative of his own education shows this blood-thirstiness to be less natural than intentionally cultivated. As a boy he shrank from drawing blood, but was hardened to it by being made to kill an old slave woman tied to a tree. After that he didn't mind any more, and when he came to manhood could say that "no man can be brave who doesn't love to see his spear draw blood." Furness, *Head Hunters*, pp. 62-63. Müller (ii, p. 364-366, quoted by Roth, ii, p. 167), has still another explanation to offer. He denies that the origin of

be found in a comparison of the history of these tribes with the development of their religion.

There is a nomadic tribe in Borneo known as Punans, who are thought to be either a backward branch of the Kayans, or a distinct tribe nearly related to them, and who live by what they can get from day to day in the jungle, having never acquired land and slaves, and not being sufficiently organized to raid for plunder. Now these people, although akin to the Kayans, and holding many religious beliefs in common with them, have no trace of the most important factor of Kayan religion, head-worship.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, according to the Kayans' own accounts, their custom of head-hunting has been in vogue only from eight to ten generations, a time which, curiously enough, corresponds to the time of their conquest of the agricultural tribes and their settlement in the present environment.<sup>2</sup>

The Sea Dyaks' history likewise shows a growth of head-worship parallel to the increasing economic importance of war. When they were mere agriculturists, fighting only among one another over disputed ownership of land, they used to take the heads of their enemies slain in these battles; but it was not until the Malays taught them to grow rich by piracy that the passion for head-hunting became deeply rooted, and that they went on expeditions for the avowed purpose of getting heads.<sup>3</sup>

Thus one effect produced upon the religion of these tribes, by the acquisition of wealth through conquest, has been a system

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head-hunting is, as is generally supposed, in the necessity of having a head to court a girl, but it is rather, he says, in their "religious superstition." In a difficult or important situation a Dyak promises his deity a head, and the fulfilment of such vows is the cause of much warfare. Sir James Brooke, however, sees that this sort of explanation is putting the cart before the horse, and says that it must be considered that these bloody trophies are the evidences of victory; for "taking heads is the effect and not the cause of war." Keppel's *Dido*, p. 190.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Charles Brooke, i. pp. 72-73, quoted by Roth, i. p. 18; Haddon, pp. 304, 320-323, 327, 384; Furness, *Head Hunters*, pp. 172-175, 183; Crocker, *Sarawak Gazette*, No. 122, p. 8, and St. John, i. p. 25, quoted by Roth, i. p. 16; Hose, J.A.I. xxiii, pp. 157, 158.

<sup>2</sup> Hose and McDougall, J.A.I. xxxi, pp. 188-189; Haddon, p. 397.

<sup>3</sup> Low, pp. 188-191. If we compare two statements of Sir James Brooke's (Keppel's *Dido*, pp. 141, 173), we see that the Sarebas and Sakaran, the most predatory tribes, are likewise the most addicted to head-hunting.

of beliefs, customs, and ideals of conduct centering about the sacred heads, all of which help to develop the temperament and ability of the successful warrior, and the well-organized military clan.

In both tribes the general principle is the same. But with the more warlike Kayans the taboos are more stringent, the ritual concerned with head-hunting is on a larger scale, and the whole system forms a greater part of their religion than in the case of the more agricultural Sea Dyaks.

I shall stop to mention here only one other effect of the warlike activities of these people upon their religion, and that is the reflection of the warrior organization. As I stated in the beginning, the organization of the tribe for war and the organization for agriculture have antagonistic tendencies. The war-path leads to domination of the fighting men; agriculture to greater importance of the women, who do most of the farm work. Now domination of the men in the tribe means predominance of masculine ideals in the religion. Accordingly among the Kayans, with their necessity for stronger warrior organization, the virile quality is characteristic of their legendary heroes and gods. Their demigods are heroic chieftains, from whom they trace their descent. It was a chief they say, who first learned that to take the heads of their enemies and worship them would bring long life and success.<sup>1</sup> And the war organization has its effect also upon the ritual, which with the Kayans is largely in the hands of chiefs, warriors, and medicine men, the last being more influential than their medicine women.<sup>2</sup>

In the conflict of these masculine with feminine ideals we see the point of contact of the religion of war and the religion of agriculture.

Among the rice-growing Sea Dyaks, the women, who do nearly all the farm work, are more powerful and have a more exalted position in the tribe than women among the Kayans. Consequently, in Sea Dyak religion feminine ideals are far more conspicuous. While among the Kayans I have found only two goddesses (both connected with farming and prayed to solely

<sup>1</sup> Furness, *Head Hunters*, p. 60; *Folk Lore*, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Hose and McDougall, J.A.I. xxxi, pp. 184, 188; Furness, *Head Hunters*, pp. 95, 161; *Folk Lore*, p. 19.

by women),<sup>1</sup> in the Sea Dyak pantheon there is, rivalling in power the heroic war-gods, a long list of female deities. While nearly all the Kayan divinities are addressed by the prefix "grandfather," I think I am justified in stating that those of the Sea Dyaks more often have the prefix "grandmother."

These "grandmother" deities of the Sea Dyaks come into prominence at the times of the year when attention is centered on the farms. At the beginning of rice-planting the gods are invoked as "Ini," grandmother, indicating, Perham thinks, that they are female deities. One farm goddess is essentially feminine, *Ini Andan*, the gray-haired goddess, concerning whom the invocation at rice-planting has much to say. She is "chief keeper of broad lands and immenses," where they may get *padi*, and she watches over and protects the farms from blight, harmful insects, and monkeys. Her virtues are the feminine virtues: "To cease working is impossible to her. In the house her hands are never idle."<sup>2</sup>

But the feminization of the Sea Dyak spirit world is not confined to patron deities of farms. Originating, I think undoubtedly, in the importance of soil culture and the consequent exaltation of women, it has grown and spread over other spheres. The omen birds, even the hawk and hornbill, gods of war, are married to female spirits with individual names and personalities. Other important female spirits are *Salampandai*, the maker of men, and *Telanjang Dara*, who lives at a waterfall and takes souls to the land of death. And all the tutelary deities of the *manangs*, i. e. medicine men and women, are called "grandmother."<sup>3</sup>

The femininity of the deities of these *manangs* is worth considering in regard to a question much discussed, namely, whether the original *manangs* were all women. In support of this view may be urged the curious custom peculiar in Borneo to the Sea Dyaks, of a man who is to become a *manang* assum-

<sup>1</sup> One of these goddesses is *Abong Do*, wife of the harvest god; the other *Do Tenangan*, wife of the chief deity *Laki Tenangan*. *Laki Tenangan*, though not distinctively a harvest god, is at least in some way connected with farming, since a sacrifice is offered to him at the harvest festival as a thank-offering for plentiful crops. Cf. Hose and McDougall, J.A.I. xxxi, p. 189; Brooke Low, quoted by Roth, i, p. 415.

<sup>2</sup> Perham, J.S.A.S., No. 8, pp. 135, 142-144.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 145; ibid., No. 2, pp. 126, 129, 130; ibid., No. 19, p. 102.

ing at his initiation the dress and habits of women, in which he continues for the rest of his life.<sup>1</sup> Perham thinks this was once required of all men who became *manangs*, that it is an old custom gradually falling into disuse. And this appears probable, since we find the custom prevalent to-day only in out of the way tribes of Sea Dyaks, untouched by foreign influence. If Perham is right, it seems to me more than likely that manangism was originally a profession of women, and that men were gradually admitted into it, at first only by becoming as much like women as possible.<sup>2</sup>

However this may be, it is at least beyond a doubt that, as we found feminine spirits much more important in the Sea Dyak pantheon than in the Kayan, the part taken by women in the religious ritual of the former is likewise much greater. It is true that medicine women exist among the Kayans, and in a description of a feast it is related that the men when taking the omens from strips of bamboo consulted the old women of the tribe.<sup>3</sup> Yet the medicine women seem to be not so numerous or important as among the Sea Dyaks. Among the latter,

<sup>1</sup> A similar custom, according to Sir James Brooke (Mundy, ii, p. 65), is found in a district in Celebes. It is an interesting question whether the similarity of customs in Borneo and Celebes points to a common origin of the natives, or is due to a similarity of conditions. Sir James Brooke believed that the Kayans originally came from Celebes, and advanced as one reason for this belief the difference of many Kayan customs from those of the Dyaks, and the fact that the Kayans have one striking custom in common with the Minkokas of Celebes, that of seeking for a head after the death of a relative, and for many heads after the death of a chief (Keppel's *Dido*, p. 337). But if one argues in this way for the Celebes origin of the Kayans, one must apply the same reasoning to the Dyaks, with their Celebes' practice of feminized medicine men. Moreover, as we have seen, the Sea Dyaks, as well as the Kayans, do seek a head after the death of a relative. That they do not make greater raids, and impose the mourning taboo on the whole tribe after the death of a chief, I have already accounted for by the fact that the Kayan chiefs have greater authority, and hence the need of more religious honor to support it.

<sup>2</sup> Brooke Low, quoted by Roth, i, pp. 270-271; Brooke, in Mundy, ii, p. 65; Perham, J.S.A.S., No. 19, p. 102. According to the legends of two Land Dyak tribes, the art of medicine and all the magic paraphernalia were given by "Tuppa" to a woman, who in turn taught her successors. Chalmers, in Grant's *Tour*, pp. 133-152, quoted by Roth, i, p. 309.

<sup>3</sup> Furness, *Head Hunters*, pp. 33, 41.

only the women may touch the images of birds made for the combined head- and harvest-feast, and it is the women on this occasion who take down the old skulls and carry them in the dance. The men who have assumed female attire are far more sacred and powerful than the ordinary medicine-men. And, finally, the professional wailers for the dead, who help the souls on their way to Hades, are nearly always women.<sup>1</sup> What religious importance is given to women among the Kayans is centered about agriculture. It is their duty to see that the fine for breaking harvest taboos is paid. Their one chance to be conspicuous is when they take prominent part in the harvest festival. For this they don all their finery, and (note in passing the comparison with the Sea Dyak feminized *manangs*) some of them assume men's clothes and carry shield, spear, and sword.<sup>2</sup>

One influence of agriculture is thus seen in a feminizing of the religion, directly proportioned in these two tribes to the relative importance of farming, and growing out of the women's service in the fields, as the prestige of the warrior and the idea of gods as chieftains and heroes grew out of the organization of the war-path.

Another effect of the farm life is a system of ethics to meet its needs, which presents a sharp contrast to the laws of battle. A farm goddess of the Sea Dyaks exhorts her followers to "spread a mat for the traveller, to be quick in giving rice to the hungry, . . . not to give the fingers to stealing, or allow the heart to be bad." Here is the other side of character of one of the fiercest and most treacherous piratical tribes.<sup>3</sup>

In its peaceful ethics, and in its exaltation of the feminine, the influence of the agricultural organization has permeated all the Dyak religion, endowing even the virile war-gods, as we have seen, with influential wives. Agriculture claims as its exclusive province a group of deities, whose nature I shall stop a moment to consider.

A much loved object of worship is the Pleiads, the "seven-chained stars," by whose movements both Kayans and Dyaks know when to prepare the jungle and when to plant.<sup>4</sup> Then,

<sup>1</sup> Furness, *Head Hunters*, p. 65; Perham, J.S.A.S., No. 14, p. 289.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 163.

<sup>3</sup> Perham, J.S.A.S., No. 8, p. 143.

<sup>4</sup> Hose, J.A.I. xxiii, p. 168; Furness, *Folk Lore*, p. 21; Haddon, p. 381.

like other peoples depending largely upon agriculture, the Sea Dyaks worship the sun, to whom they pray at the beginning of farming as "the eye of day," the light-giving and the heat-giving, and whom they address by the title appropriate to a high Malay official. The sun is the second deity mentioned in the Sea Dyak planting invocation. The first is Pulang Gana, the tutelary deity of the soil, who presides over the whole of farming, and to whom they sacrifice on the fields. He and Singalong Burong, the hawk war-god, are the two deities most real to the Sea Dyaks. Pulang Gana is not the only earth god. One tribe at least believes in three more specialized spirits: "Seregendah, who has charge of the stiff clay earth," "Seleledu, who has charge of the little hills," and "Seleleding, who has charge of the highlands." After the sun and the earth-god, is invoked the rice-spirit, the "soul of the rice," "Saniang Padi;" and then Ini (grandmother) Andan, of whom I have spoken before<sup>1</sup> (above, p. 241).

The Kayans, so far as I have been able to learn, have besides the Pleiads but one agricultural god, known as the harvest god, who lives far away with his wife; though perhaps a beginning of sun-worship is seen in their fondness for the sun, in connection with the Pleiads, as a design in tattooing and ornament.<sup>2</sup>

What all these definitely agricultural deities show is worship of the forces of nature that condition a successful crop and thus determine plenty or starvation, an instance of the general tendency toward idealization of the useful.

I cannot leave this discussion of the effect of agriculture upon religion without at least mentioning the striking institution of harvest taboo, observed by Kayans and other tribes, and very likely by Sea Dyaks as well (though of this I have no definite information), whereby practical common sense is enforced by religious authority.

From the time when the real labor of clearing the jungle begins until planting is over, no stranger may interfere with the work by entering the house or fields. A small offering must atone for any accidental infringement of this rule. But the stricter taboos occur at harvest time. One is that no one may

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<sup>1</sup> Perham, J.S.A.S., No. 8, pp. 137, 141, 146, 148; *ibid.*, No. 10, pp. 218, 226.

<sup>2</sup> Low, p. 825.

eat the new rice while reaping; it must all be stored and kept to use economically as needed. And yet the store of last year's rice has become low by this time. That it might not altogether give out, there has been a taboo at planting time of the wooden mortars in which it is kept. They are enclosed by bamboo railings to keep out human beings and dogs. If an unruly dog jumps the railing, the owner of the mortar rubs its hair the wrong way with a cord, while repeating a religious formula. And the dog, they say, is sure to die soon afterwards. Dr. Furness gives as a reason for this that "the store of rice will last but a short time if those mortars be touched by any hands other than those whose duty it is to use them." After the harvest, for eight days, no one may go on an expedition or return from one. And then as soon as this taboo is lifted a still stricter one is enforced; no one may go into the house except those residing in it, and even they may not enter each other's rooms. Anyone may taboo his own room, but it is the prerogative of the chief to taboo the house, or even at his discretion the whole river.<sup>1</sup> The object of this, according to Hose, is that they do not wish the extent of their harvests to be known and attract raiders.

I hope that, without going into details, I have been able to give some impression of two aspects of the religion of these tribes: the more warlike Kayans having elaborate worship of heads and strong warrior gods, and recognizing only slightly feminine influences and the gods of agriculture; the Sea Dyaks, though in their capacity of pirates they are also head-worshippers and protégés of war-birds and legendary heroes, yet, through their larger interests in farming, acknowledging as well feminine divinities and a feminine priesthood, together with many well developed nature deities of harvest.

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<sup>1</sup> Hose, J.A.I. xxiii, p. 170; Hose and McDougall, J.A.I. xxxi, p. 191; Furness, *Head Hunters*, pp. 160-165. In writing of the Land Dyaks, Low says that the custom of taboo on the new rice "was doubtless intended in its original institution, to prevent the prevalence of indolence . . . . Could they eat of the new rice many of them would perhaps from idleness delay the preparing of their farms, hoping to borrow, and thus become indebted to their more industrious neighbors; but with this curious but useful practice before them, they all plant at one time . . . . and can only become indebted toward the end of the season" (p. 302). The harvest taboo has long been familiar as a characteristic of the Polynesians.

These two aspects are of course but a part of their religion. Nor have there been even mentioned many beliefs and customs which rightly come within the scope of this paper. But enough has been said, I think, to show that an important part of the religion of these tribes has grown out of the life of the war-path and the life of the farm.

The psychological processes by which this came about are by no means simple, nor can any one generalization cover them. But it may be worth while to restate some obvious principles already suggested. In the first place, the native as warrior has deified the trophies of his exploits, feeling that in some way this is beneficial, though not understanding its real advantage, which is to develop courage and loyalty, and so surround the worship with fictitious sanctions. As agriculturist he has recognized his dependence upon certain forces and therefore worshipped them. Thirdly, he imagines that those virtues which a half appreciated experience has proved helpful both in war and in farming are approved by the supernatural powers; and in the fourth place, he has mirrored in his pantheon and in his incipient priesthood the social and political organization best adapted to his combined pursuits of war and agriculture.

This discussion of two aspects of Bornean religion is merely fragmentary. Its special interest lies in the fact that it furnishes an excellent illustration of some general principles of religious development. The deification of the useful and the harmful shows the influence of economics upon religion. This many people admit, if not to its full significance, and it is illustrated here by the worship of the Pleiads, of the sun, and of the soil. Another statement of economic effect, perhaps less widely accepted, is that the industrial organization is reflected in the nature of the gods and in the religious ritual, a statement exemplified in these tribes by the masculine ideals of the warrior, the feminine ideals of the agriculturist.<sup>1</sup> In a former gen-

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<sup>1</sup> This principle was suggested by Dr. Keasbey in the course of his sociological work, and was tested and found to hold true by Professor Barton (*Semitic Origins*, ch. iii), in regard to the Semites, and by Miss Stites in regard to the Iroquois Indians. These tribes, in which as usual the women took charge of the agriculture, worshipped "Mother Earth" and also several feminine plant deities, and some of their "Keepers of the Faith," officiating at agricultural festivals, were women.

eral survey, I advanced a third theory, which is illustrated here by the worship of heads and the various harvest taboos, namely, that beliefs and customs gain a foothold in proportion to the benefits society derives from them. I do not suppose that these cover the whole ground; nor indeed that a complete explanation has been given by the principles thus far formulated. They are hardly more than results of a preliminary disentanglement, and there is much work yet to be done before we can understand the full influence of economics upon religion and of religion upon economics.

*The Structure of the Hammurabi Code.*—By DAVID G. LYON,  
Professor in Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Has the code of laws promulgated by Hammurabi any definite system of arrangement, logical or otherwise? This question forces itself on every student of the subject, and its solution is of no slight importance to the understanding of the code as a whole and of many of its parts.

That there is much grouping of laws is apparent at a glance (theft, 6-13; storage and deposit, 120-126; adoption, 185-193). But it also *seems* that in many cases all the laws relating to one subject are not grouped together, but are found in various parts of the code (slaves, 7, 15-20, 116, 119, 146, 147, 170, 171, 175-176A, 199, 205, 213, 214, 217, 219, 220, 223, 226, 227, 231, 252, 278-282). Is this seeming a reality?

Some students, recognizing it as such, declare that the code is without logical arrangement. Thus, Professor Oettli of Greifswald, in his discussion, *Das Gesetz Hammurabis und die Thora Israels*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 10, says: "Homogeneous materials are put together in a series of passages, but a strict arrangement according to subject is not carried out." He thinks that the code may have arisen from smaller collections which have grown together, and that this may account in part for the disorder. He therefore picks out the scattered laws and brings them together under thirteen great topics, as follows: 1. Marriage laws; 2. Parents and children; 3. Freemen and slaves; 4. Inheritance laws; 5. Injury and protection to honor and life; 6. General laws for protection of property; 7. Fief; 8. Lease, rent and hired labor; 9. Deposit; 10. Debt and security; 11. Responsibility (*Haftpflicht*); 12. Individual regulations regarding civil duties; 13. Criminal law and judicial proceeding. For his purpose, comparison with the laws of the Old Testament, this is a legitimate process, but it contributes no light on the structure of the code.

Prof. David H. Müller of Vienna (*Die Gesetze Hammurabis und ihr Verhältniss zur mosaischen Gesetzgebung sowie zu den XII Tafeln*, Vienna, 1903) makes forty-four co-ordinate divis-

ions. Müller's hypothesis of an *Ur-Gesetz*, from which the Hammurabi Code, the Mosaic Law and the XII Tables are all derived, however fascinating as a speculation, cannot be considered as a good preparation for the discovery of the grouping and arrangement of the laws in the code. That there is a well considered order he clearly perceives, and he has correctly stated (p. 190) one of the principles of arrangement, the rank of the parties concerned. His other principle, viz.: the order in the *Ur-Gesetz*, with certain modifications by Hammurabi, could be of force only to those who accept his hypothesis of an *Ur-Gesetz* and his conjecture as to the arrangement of its material. That the code as it stands, without any reference to an older form, which probably did exist, is arranged in a perfectly logical order according to the nature of the material, Müller has not seen.

It cannot be said that Kohler and Peiser (*Hammurabi's Gesetz*, Leipzig, 1904) have been more fortunate. They have indeed been most unfortunate in their attempt to lay upon the code the straight jacket of modern legal terminology. Their twelvefold division is as follows: 1. Procedure, 1-5; 2. Protection of Property, 6-25; 3. Fief and its Obligations, 26-41; 4. Agriculture and Cattle raising, 42-65; 5. Trade and Debt, 100-126; 6. Marriage, Laws relating to Woman, Laws relating to the Legitimate and to the Illegitimate Child, 127-177; 7. Temple Women and Concubines, 178-184; 8. Adoption of Children, 185-193; 9. Criminal Law, 194-233; 10. Navigation, 234-240; 11. Relations of Hire and Service, 241-277; 12. Slavery, 278-282.

This division of the code separates laws which belong together (as groups 6, 7, 8 and the first two of 9); it brings together laws which belong in different groups, not observing, for instance, the distinction in character between §§ 196-214 and §§ 215-233; and some of its descriptions are inept, as No. 9, "Criminal Law," because some of these laws have nothing to do with crime or punishment (doctors' fees, carpenters' fees), and because laws in various other parts of the code do relate to crime and its punishment.

This criticism of Kohler and Peiser, which might be greatly prolonged, is enough to show that they have not perceived the logical arrangement of the code. To recognize their designa-

tions of the successive sections as even approximately correct is to justify those who find little systematic arrangement in the laws.

Let us pass now to the question, What was the codifier's principle in the grouping and arrangement of his laws? His fundamental principle is the logical relation of the individual laws to one another. Several related laws form a group, several groups a larger group, several of these a still larger group. The process, however, was in the opposite direction, beginning with a few of the largest topics, and proceeding through groups and sub-groups down to the individual laws.

To Hammurabi there were but two of these largest topics, namely *things* and *persons* (slaves being reckoned, according to circumstances, in both categories). He conceived of things as Property, and the code gives the laws relating to Property under three groups, Personal Property, Real Estate, and Trade and Business Relations. There are likewise three groups under the second great topic, Person, namely, The Family, Injuries, and Labor (both human and animal).<sup>1</sup>

These six groups are then divided into sub-groups. The two sub-groups under the Family, for instance, are: 1. Man and Wife; 2. The Children. The division under Children is into one's own children and adopted children. One's own children are considered under three aspects: 1. Children of a free father; 2. Children of a slave father and a free mother; 3. The free widow and minor children. The children of a free father are considered in three groups: 1. Children by a free mother; 2. Children by a slave mother; 3. The free widow and adult children. There are three divisions under the children by a free mother, and these three divisions are further subdivided into individual laws. Thus:

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<sup>1</sup> In a sense the whole code might be said to relate to property, because this subject is involved, more or less directly, in nearly all the laws; just as it might be said to relate to persons, a person appearing or being assumed in every law. And yet the division represents a real distinction, property being the more prominent idea in the first division, and person in the second. Oxen are not persons, it is true, but they are introduced where they are (241-252) because of their connection with one of the laboring classes.

Taken as a whole, the laws might be called a penal code, because most of them prescribe penalties for offenses. The chief exceptions are in the group relating to the family.

1. Children by free mother, 165-169.
  - 1) Division of inheritance preceded by setting aside
    - (1) Father's special gift to a favored son, 165.
    - (2) Marriage settlement for unmarried son, 166.
  - 2) Children by two successive wives, 167.
  - 3) Disinheritance.
    - (1) Disallowed for slight offense, 168.
    - (2) Allowed only for repeated grave offense, 169.

Presented in tabular form this procedure is as follows:

**II. Person.**

i. Family.

2. Children.

- 1) One's own children.
  - (1) Children of a free father.
    - a. Such children by a free mother.
    - a) Division of the inheritance.
      - (a) Special gift to favored son.

This method of division and subdivision according to logical relations prevails throughout the code, the extent to which it is carried depending entirely on the complexity of the subject.

The correct analysis of the laws explains the seeming inconsistency of the code in touching upon the same subject in different places, slaves for instance. The slave is mentioned in 7, 15-20 as a species of personal property; in 116 as a person seized for debt; in 119 as a wife sold for debt; in 146, 147 to define her relations to a votary wife; in 170, 171 to define the status of her children by a free husband; in 175-176A because certain classes of slaves might marry a free woman; in 199, 213, 214 because of damages due the owner for injuring a slave; in 205 to prescribe the penalty on a vicious slave; in 219, 220, 223 because slaves had to be treated by doctors and surgeons; in 226, 227 because they might be marked improperly; in 231 because of their possible relation to a falling house; in 252 because one might be killed by an ox; in 278-282 to define what might invalidate the sale of a slave and to give the penalty on a slave for denying his master. It thus appears that there are no laws relating to slavery as such, but that the slave is often introduced because of his relation to the many subjects into which the code is logically divided.

Nor is there legislation on the subject of temple women. Persons of this class figure at various points, but always on account of their relation to some larger subject. In 110 this larger subject is wine selling; in 127, 144-147, marriage; in 178-182, inheritance: in 192, 193, adoption of children. A comparison of these various passages shows that the temple woman or votary is not an immoral person. She dare not even enter one of the disorderly houses where wine is sold (110); she is expected to have a name above reproach (127); her station, if she be married, is one of honor (144-147); her father either gives her a dowry when she enters the temple service (becomes the god's bride), or she receives a share of his property at his death (178-182); and if she adopts a child, he may neither leave her nor renounce her (192, 193).

That Hammurabi or his jurists should have cast his system in such a logical mold is one of the most astonishing features of this admirable code. The arrangement is the result of deep thought, and every law has its well-considered place. It is true that one might logically change the position of certain laws or even groups of laws. For instance, the five laws about slaves, 278-282, might be grouped with the laws relating to stolen and fugitive slaves, 15-20. The codifier had a definite reason for the separation. He placed 278-282 in the second great division, because he here conceives of the slave as person; in the third group of the second division, because the slave is a laborer; and last in the third group, because slave labor is inferior to free labor.

Perhaps the most persistent questioning will concern the position under Farming of the group of laws relating to the vicious ox. We should be rather disposed to look for them under Injuries. But the ox, as the most important animal to the agriculturist, has his natural place under farming, along with the overseer, annual wages of laborers, and theft of farm implements. The ox is considered from the points of view of seizure for debt (prohibited on account of his necessity to farm life), annual rates of hire, and damages to oxen; and then comes the small group of laws on the ox which kills a man, placed here because of the relation of the ox to farming.

The code has many illustrations of the influence of rank on the order both of individual laws and of groups of laws. Thus, theft from temple or palace (6-8) precedes theft from individuals (9-13), and in the section on injuries (196-214) are

several illustrations of the order, freeman, freedman, slave. Males are treated before females; as 196-208 compared with 209-214, or 165-177 (male children) compared with 178-184 (daughters). The principle of rank was probably not without its influence in placing Property before Person, as well as in the order of the three great groups under each of these divisions. Thus, Personal Property contains several laws involving the temple and the palace; Real Estate, a large collection relating to land holders appointed by the king; while the third group is without important reference to either temple or king. Under Person, the Family seems to come first logically, and Labor last. But arrangement according to rank would also seem to suggest the same order, there being under laws about the family not a few which relate to votaries, while the slave laws in 278-282 naturally draw to the end of the code the group to which it belongs. Many other illustrations might be cited, but the principle is not invariable, other considerations at times taking precedence.

Sometimes the order is determined neither by logical relation nor by rank, but by some more remote principle of association. Thus, under grain fields damage is placed last (53-58). The same principle of arrangement should have placed damage last in the following section on date groves. But it actually stands first (59), doubtless in order to connect grain fields and date groves through the idea of damages. The offence of striking a parent (195) gives an easy transition to the section on Injuries (196-214). Damage to oxen (244-249) leads easily to the section on injury by oxen (250-252).

It remains to say a few words of special explanation. The code has no external marks separating the laws one from another, or indicating where the groups of laws end. The division into separate paragraphs was introduced by the editor, M. Scheil. For such division the criteria are the almost invariable introduction *Šunnat*, "if," and the connection of the thought. In a few cases Scheil's division might be open to criticism. Paragraphs 39, 40, for instance, are exceptions to 38, or modifications or explanations of it, and might therefore have been given under 38, without division. On the other hand, certain of Scheil's paragraphs, as 171, 172, might well be broken up into other paragraphs, as the following analysis indicates, by the use of a, b, c, after Scheil's numbers.

There are several obscure titles of classes of persons mentioned in the code, and some of these classes play an important rôle in society. Such are the MAŠ-EN-KAK, which I have rendered by "freedman"; the *bairu*, *rid šabe* and *naši bilti*, three classes of fief holders; and the several classes of female votaries of the temple. The rendering "freedman" is only a suggestion. The class stood between the freeman and the slave in some particulars, though in other respects it seems to have been of greater consequence than the freeman, being mentioned in close connection with the palace. 'Palace' in the code is probably not the king's residence in particular, but also the residences of his governors in the various provinces.

In some instances the analysis here presented may be susceptible of rectification. Specially is this true of the subdivisions under the Introduction, owing to the uncertainty still attending the translation of this group of laws. There are also a few cases, indicated by question mark, where difficulty of translation (47, 185, 186, 242, 243, 258, 270), or break in the inscription (100, 262, 275) leaves doubt as to the meaning, and consequently as to the grouping.

And modifications may be possible elsewhere. In details they are perhaps inevitable. This paper is very far from claiming that its writer has seen the whole truth. But it does claim that he has seen the truth essentially as Hammurabi would have it seen. If the claim be just, Hammurabi's eminence as lawgiver does not surpass his eminence as logician. In the skillful arrangement of its material the code has never been excelled, and it has probably never been approached.

## ANALYSIS OF THE CODE.

### INTRODUCTION, ON EVIDENCE AND DECISION, 1-5

- i. The corrupt plaintiff, 1, 2.
  - 1. Decision by judges, 1.
  - 2. Decision by ordeal, 2.
- ii. The corrupt witness, 3, 4.
  - 1. In suit involving life, 3.
  - 2. In suit involving property, 4.
- iii. The corrupt judge, 5.

## I. PROPERTY, 6-126.

## i. Personal, especially theft of such property, 6-25.

1. *Theft of things*, 6-13.

## 1) From temple or palace, 6-8.

## (1) Treasure kept in the buildings, 6.

## a. Buying or receiving from minor or slave, 7.

## (2) Possessions not kept in the buildings, 8.

## 2) From individuals, 9-13.

## (1) To discover the thief, 9-11.

## a. Seller the thief, 9.

## b. Holder the thief, 10.

## c. Claimant the thief, 11.

## (2) If seller be dead, 12.

## (3) If witnesses be remote, 13.

2. *Kidnapping a minor*, 14.3. *Fugitive slaves*, 15-20.

## 1) Belonging to palace or freedman, 15, 16.

## (1) Inducing to run away, 15.

## (2) Harboring, 16.

## 2) Other fugitive slaves, 17-20.

## (1) Restoring to owner, 17, 18.

## a. Fee for restoration, 17.

## b. Refusal to give owner's name, 18.

## (2) Concealing slave, 19.

## (3) Escape from captor, 20.

4. *Aggravated forms of theft*, 21-25.

## 1) Burglary, 21.

## 2) Highway robbery, 22-24.

## (1) Capture of robber, 22.

## (2) Escape of robber, 23.

## (3) Murder with robbery, 24.

## 3) Theft from burning house, 25.

ii. *Real Estate*, 26 —.<sup>1</sup>1. *State lands, with duties, rights and restrictions of holders*, 26-41.

<sup>1</sup> Owing to the erasure of four or five columns of the inscription, it is impossible to say how many laws related to Real Estate. Scheil estimates that the erasure contained about thirty-five laws, though not all of them treated this subject.

- 1) Loss of one's holding, 26-31.
  - (1) By disobedience or employing substitute, 26.
  - (2) By being captured, 27-29.
    - a. Land assigned to another restored on holder's return, 27.
    - b. Land held by son of captured holder, 28.
      - a) Case of son too young to take charge, 29.
  - (3) By desertion, 30, 31.
    - a. For three years' desertion the loss is perpetual, 30.
    - b. For one year, temporary, 31.
- 2) Relation of holder to others, 32-34.
  - (1) To one who ransoms him, 32.
  - (2) To superior officers, 33, 34.
    - a. They may not release him from obligations, 33.
    - b. They may not rob nor oppress him, 34.
- 3) Holdings inalienable, 35-41.
  - (1) Animals, 35.
  - (2) Realty, 36-41.
    - a. Not to be sold, 36.
      - a) If sold, to be returned, 37.
    - b. Not to be given away, nor assigned for debt, 38.
      - a) Realty acquired by purchase different, 39.
      - b) Classes of holders who may sell, 40.
    - c. Not to be exchanged, 41.
2. *Private Realty*, 42 —.
  - 1) Grain fields and crops, 42-58.
    - (1) Hired fields, and payment of rent, 42-47.
      - a. Condition of the land, 42-44.
        - a) Arable land, 42, 43.
          - (a) No grain produced, 42.
          - (b) No other crop produced, 43.
        - b) Unreclaimed land, 44.
      - b. Payment of rent in case of crop failure, 45, 46.
        - a) Field let for definite price, 45.
        - b) Field let on shares, 46.
      - c. Subletting (?), 47.
    - (2) One's own field, 48-52.
      - a. Payment of debt postponed in case of crop failure, 48.
      - b. Mortgage for borrowed money, 49-52.

- a) Of crop to be planted, 49.
- b) Of crop already planted, 50, 51.
  - (a) Payment in money, 50.
  - (b) Payment in produce, 51.
- c. Contract not cancelled by crop failure, 52.
- (3) Damage to fields and crops, 53-58.
  - a. By water of irrigation, 53-56.
    - a) Breach in dyke, 53.
    - (a) Impecunious offender, 54.
    - b) Sluice left open, 55, 56.
      - (a) Damage to crop, 55.
      - (b) Damage to prepared land, 56.
  - b. By cattle grazing, 57, 58.
    - a) Partial damage, 57.
    - b) Serious damage, 58.
- 2) Orchards or date groves, 59 —.
  - (1) Damage by cutting tree, 59.
  - (2) Training a grove on shares, 60-63.
    - a. Division of the yield, 60, 61.
      - a) If gardener plants all the space, 60.
      - b) If he plants only part of the space, 61.
    - b. Penalty for failure to plant grove, 62, 63.
      - a) In case of arable land, 62.
      - b) In case of unreclaimed land, 63.
  - (3) Letting productive grove to gardener, 64, 65.
    - a. Division of the yield, 64.
    - b. Penalty for neglect of grove, 65.

[The erased sections, which come at this point, continued the subject of orchards, gave the laws relating to houses (leases, etc.), and began the third division under Property, i. e. Trade and Business Relations.]

iii. **Trade and Business**, — 126.

1. *Merchant and Peddler*, — 107.

- 1) Merchant provides money, — 103.
  - (1) Profitable tour (?), 100.
  - (2) Unprofitable tour, 101-103.
    - a. No gain, 101.
    - b. Positive loss, 102.
    - c. Peddler robbed, 103.

- 2) Merchant provides goods, 104a.
- 3) Receipts necessary, 104b, 105.
- 4) Suits, 106, 107.
  - (1) Peddler the plaintiff, 106.
  - (2) Merchant the plaintiff, 107.
- 2. *Wine selling*, 108-111.
  - 1) Offences of wine sellers, 108, 109.
    - (1) Practicing fraud, 108.
    - (2) Harboring disorderly persons, 109.
  - 2) Religious votaries and wine, 110.
  - 3) Sale on credit, 111.
- 3. *Carriage*, 112.
- 4. *Debt*, 113-119.
  - 1) Seizure for debt, 113-116.
    - (1) Grain, 113.
    - (2) Person, 114-116.
      - a. Unwarranted seizure, 114.
      - b. Legitimate seizure, 115, 116.
        - a) Person seized dies natural death, 115.
        - b) Death from abuse, 116.
    - 2) Sale for debt, 117-119.
      - (1) Wife or child. Serves three years, 117.
      - (2) Slaves. Sale may be perpetual, 118.
        - a. Exception of slave wife, 119.
  - 5. *Storage and deposit*, 120-126.
    - 1) Grain, 120, 121.
      - (1) Loss by accident or theft, 120.
      - (2) Rates for storage, 121.
    - 2) Treasure, 122-126.
      - (1) Witnesses and record, 122.
      - (2) Failure to have such, 123.
      - (3) Suits, 124-126.
        - a. Receiver disputes deposit, 124.
        - b. Receiver loses deposited goods, 125.
        - c. Depositor makes fraudulent claim, 126.

## II. PERSON, 127-282.

- i. **The Family**, 127-195.
  - 1. *Man and wife*, 127-164.
    - 1) Slander of wife, 127.

- 2) Definition of marriage, 128.
- 3) Interruption of the marriage relation, 129-143.
  - (1) By Adultery of the wife, 129-132.
    - a. Guilt established, 129, 130.
      - a) The woman actually married, 129.
      - b) The woman betrothed only, 130.
    - b. Guilt suspected, 131, 132.
      - a) The suspicious husband, 131.
      - b) Public gossip, 132.
  - (2) By captivity of the husband, 133-135.
    - a. Wife's remarriage prohibited, 133.
    - b. Wife's remarriage allowed, 134.
      - a) Case of husband's return from captivity, 135.
  - (3) By desertion of the husband, 136.
  - (4) By divorce, 137-143.
    - a. Husband the plaintiff, 137-141.
      - a) Divorce of concubine and votary wife, 137.
      - b) Divorce of spouse<sup>1</sup> without children, 138-140.
        - (a) In case there be a marriage settlement, 138.
        - (b) In case of no marriage settlement, 139, 140.
          - a. The freeman's spouse, 139.
          - β. The freedman's spouse, 140.
      - c) The vixen gadabout, 141.
      - b. Wife the plaintiff, 142, 143.
        - a) Successful suit, 142.
        - b) Unsuccessful suit, 143.
    - 4) Rights of wives, 144-150.
      - (1) Votary wife, 144-147.
        - a. In relation to a concubine, 144, 145.
          - a) Concubine not allowed, 144.
          - b) Concubine allowed, 145.
        - b. In relation to a slave wife, 146, 147.
          - a) Slave wife, if mother, not to be sold, 146.
          - b) If not a mother, may be sold, 147.

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<sup>1</sup> *Hirtu*, the free wife, as distinguished from the concubine, the votary wife, and the slave wife. The code distinguishes carefully these four classes of wives. The votary wife seems never to bear children. She was, perhaps, in the service of the temple until she passed the age of child-bearing, and was then free to marry. One might compare the Vestal virgins at Rome, who were also free to marry after thirty years of service.

- (2) Diseased wife, 148, 149.
  - a. To be supported by husband, 148.
  - b. May leave him, if she will, 149.
- (3) Widow's property rights, 150.
- 5) Mutual responsibility of husband and wife, 151, 152.
  - (1) Debts contracted before marriage, 151.
  - (2) Debts contracted after marriage, 152.
- 6) Killing a husband, 153.
- 7) Incest, 154-158.
  - (1) With a daughter, 154.
  - (2) With a son's fiancée, 155, 156.
    - a. In case the son has known her, 155.
    - b. In case the son has not known her, 156.
  - (3) With one's mother, 157.
  - (4) With a father's wife, 158.
- 8) Breach of promise, 159-161.
  - (1) By the young man, 159.
  - (2) By the woman's father, 160, 161.
    - a. For reason not given, 160.
    - b. Influenced by a "friend," 161.
- 9) Dowry of deceased wife, 162-164.
  - (1) If there be children, 162.
  - (2) If no children, 163, 164.
    - a. If marriage settlement<sup>1</sup> be returned, 163.
    - b. If marriage settlement be not returned, 164.
- 2. *Children (and widowed mothers)*, 165-195.
  - 1) One's own children, especially in relation to inheritance, 165-184.
    - (1) The father a freeman, 165-174.
      - a. Children by free mother, 165-169.
        - a) Equal distribution preceded by certain subtractions, 165, 166.
          - (a) Special gift to a son, 165.
          - (b) Marriage settlement for unmarried son, 166.
        - b) Children by two successive free mothers, 167.
        - c) Disinheritance, 168, 169.

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<sup>1</sup> The code has three words for marriage gift; gift from the paternal house, *šeriktu*, 'dowry'; gift from the groom to the bride's family, *tirhatu*, 'marriage settlement'; gift from the groom to the bride, *nudunnu*, 'gift.' From § 164 the dowry would seem ordinarily to have been larger than the marriage settlement.

- (a) Disallowed for light offense, 168.
- (b) Allowed for repeated, grave offense, 169.
- b. Children by slave mother (there being also children by free mother), 170, 171b.
  - a) Formal recognition by father prerequisite to inheritance, 170, 171a.
  - b) They and their mother to be free, 171b.
- c. The free widow and her children, 171c-174.
  - a) Her life interest in property and home, 171c-172.
    - (a) In case there be a gift (*nudunnu*), 171c.
    - (b) In case there be no gift, 172a.
    - (c) Attempt of children to dislodge her, 172b.
    - (d) Her voluntary departure, 172c.
  - b) Her dowry in case of re-marriage, 173, 174.
    - (a) If second marriage be fruitful, 173.
    - (b) If second marriage be not fruitful, 174.
- (2) The father a slave, the mother free, 175-176A.
  - a. Children of such union free, 175.
  - b. Inheritance, 176, 176A.
    - a) In case a dowry exists, 176.
    - b) In case of no dowry, 176A.
- (3) The free widow and minor children, 177.
  - a. Condition on which she may re-marry, 177a.
  - b. Guardianship of the children, 177b.
  - c. Restrictions on their property, 177c.
- (4) Daughters, 178-184.
  - a. Daughters consecrated to religion, 178-182.
    - a) Those dowered by father, 178, 179.
      - (a) By gift for life time, 178.
      - (b) By gift in perpetuity, 179.
    - b) Those not dowered by father, 180-182.
      - (a) Votary of first grade, 180.
      - (b) Votary of second grade, 181.
      - (c) Votary of Marduk of Babylon, 182.
  - b. Daughters by (?) concubine wife, 183, 184.
    - a) Dowered and married, 183.
    - b) Undowered and unmarried, 184.
- 2) Adopted children, 185-193.
  - (1) Reclaimable and unreclaimable, 185-190.

- a. Adopting in one's name (?), 185.
- b. Incorrigible (?) child, 186.
- c. Adopted by *nersega* or votary, 187.
- d. Adopted by artisan, 188, 189.
  - a) If taught handicraft, 188.
  - b) If not so taught, 189.
- e. Not formally recognized, 190.
- (2) May not be disinherited, 191.
- (3) Penalty for ingratitude to *nersega* or votary, 192, 193.
  - a. Renouncing sonship, 192.
  - b. Running away, 193.
- 3) Death of child in care of nurse, 194.
- 4) Penalty for striking a parent, 195.

ii. **Injurien**, 196-214.

- 1. *To males*, 196-208.
  - 1) Eye or limb, 196-199.
    - (1) Of freeman, 196, 197.
      - a. Freeman's eye, 196.
      - b. Freeman's limb, 197.
    - (2) Freedman's eye or limb, 198.
    - (3) Slave's eye or limb, 199.
  - 2) Tooth, 200, 201.
    - (1) Of freeman, 200.
    - (2) Of freedman, 201.
  - 3) Blows, 202-208.
    - (1) Malicious blows, 202-205.
      - a. On person of higher rank, 202.
      - b. Freeman strikes freeman, 203.
      - c. Freedman strikes freedman, 204.
      - d. Slave strikes freeman, 205.
    - (2) Unmalicious blows, 206-208.
      - a. Man struck recovers, 206.
      - b. Man struck dies, 207, 208.
        - a) Freeman, 207.
        - b) Freedman, 208.
  - 2. *To females with child*, 209-214.
    - 1) Freeman's daughter, 209, 210.
      - (1) Miscarriage, 209.

- (2) Death, 210.
- 2) Freedman's daughter, 211, 212.
  - (1) Miscarriage, 211.
  - (2) Death, 212.
- 3) Slave woman, 213, 214.
  - (1) Miscarriage, 213.
  - (2) Death, 214.

iii. **Laborers and Labor**, 215-282.

- 1. *Free labor*, 215-277.
  - 1) Skilled labor, 215-240.
    - (1) Surgeons and doctors, 215-225.
      - a. Practicing on men, 215-223.
        - a) Operation on wounds and eyes, 215-220.
          - (a) Fees for success, 215-217.
            - a. On freeman, 215.
            - β. On freedman, 216.
            - γ. On freeman's slave, 217.
          - (b) Fines for failure, 218-220.
            - a. On freeman, 218.
            - β. On freedman's slave, 219, 220.
              - a) Wound, 219.
              - β) Eye, 220.
          - b) Broken limbs and diseased organs, 221-223.
            - (a) Freeman, 221.
            - (b) Freedman, 222.
            - (c) Freeman's slave, 223.
          - b. Veterinary doctors, 224, 225.
            - a) Fee for success, 224.
            - b) Fine for failure, 225.
        - (2) Branders, 226, 227.
          - a. Penalty for unwarranted marking, 226.
          - b. Marking unwittingly, 227.
        - (3) House building, 228-233.
          - a. Builder's fee, 228.
          - b. Builder's fines, 229-233.
            - a) Falling of house, 229-232.
              - (a) Causing death, 229-231.
                - a. Of owner, 229.
                - β. Of owner's child, 230.
                - γ. Of owner's slave, 231.

- (b) Damaging property, 232.
- b) Insecure walls, 233.
- (4) Boat building, boats, and boatmen, 234-240.
  - a. Boat building, 234, 235.
    - a) Fee, 234.
    - b) Fine for poor work, 235.
  - b. Boating, 236-240.
    - a) Damages, 236-238.
      - (a) Sinking or losing hired boat, 236.
      - (b) Damage to freight in hired boat, 237.
      - (c) Sinking and raising a boat, 238.
    - b) Annual rate of boat-hire, 239.
    - c) Boats in collision, 240.
- 2) Unskilled labor, 241-277.
  - (1) Farming, 241-260.
    - a. Oxen as farm animals, 241-252.
      - a) Seizure for debt, 241.
      - b) Annual rates of hire, 242, 243.
        - (a) Trained (?) ox, 242.
        - (b) Untrained (?) ox, 243.
      - c) Damages to oxen, 244-249.
        - (a) By beast, 244.
        - (b) By man, 245-248.
          - a. Death of ox, 245.
          - β. Injury of ox, 246-248.
            - a) Broken foot, 246.
            - β) Blinded eye, 247.
            - γ) Broken horn, tail, &c., 248.
          - (c) By unavoidable accident, 249.
        - d) Death of man by ox, 250-252.
          - (a) Ox supposed to be innocent, 250.
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            - a. Death of freeman, 251.
            - β. Death of slave, 252.
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          - a) Theft of seed or feed, 253.
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          - c) Letting oxen, and raising no crop, 255.
          - d) In case he cannot pay, 256.

- c. Annual wages, 257, 258.
  - a) Farm laborer, 257.
  - b) Ox driver (?), 258.
- d. Theft of farm implements, 259, 260.
  - a) Irrigating wheel, 259.
  - b) Irrigating bucket, or plough, 260.
- (2) Shepherding, 261-267.
  - a. Annual wages of shepherd, 261.
  - b. Penalties for unfaithfulness or fraud, 262-265.
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    - b) Animal lost, 263.
    - c) Rate of increase diminished, 264.
    - d) Theft and sale, 265.
  - c. Accidents, 266, 267.
    - a) Unavoidable, 266.
    - b) Culpable, 267.
- 3) Rates of hire per day, 268-277.
  - (1) Animals for threshing, 268-270.
    - a. Ox, 268.
    - b. Donkey, 269.
    - c. Calf (?), 270.
  - (2) Teams, 271, 272.
    - a. Ox, wagon and driver, 271.
    - b. Wagon alone, 272.
  - (3) Day laborer, 273.
  - (4) Artisans, 274, 275.
    - a. Male, 274.
    - b. Female (?), 275.
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- 2. *Slaves*, 278-282.
  - 1) Purchase invalidated, 278-281.
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*Notes on the Hammurabi Monument.*<sup>1</sup>—By DAVID G. LYON,  
Professor in Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

EVERY student of the subject recognizes the excellence of M. Scheil's translation of the Hammurabi Code. As a first attempt at a difficult task its success is above all praise. That there should remain, however, possibility of improved translation in details and of new points of view, Scheil would be the last to question. To call attention to a few such improvements and new points of view is the object of this paper.

1. *Salmu*=‘Statue’ in 40<sup>76</sup>.

The stone on which the code is recorded was set up in Marduk's temple at Babylon, before a statue of the king. That Hammurabi prepared statues of himself in the round we know from a fragment of one now preserved in the British Museum. The inscription<sup>2</sup> on this fragment is bilingual, Sumerian and Babylonian, and the statue to which the fragment belonged was to all appearances seated, like the well known representations of Gudea of a still earlier period.

That the monument containing the code was set up before such a statue, is expressly stated in the inscription (40<sup>74-75</sup>):

*u-wa-ti-ya šu-ku-ra-tim  
i-na na-ru-ya aš-tur-ma  
i-na ma-har šalmi-ya  
šarri mi-ša-ri-im  
u-ki-in,*

“I wrote my precious words on my stele, and set (it) up before the statue of myself as king of righteousness.”

Scheil renders this passage thus:

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<sup>1</sup> The first three notes were read on April 7, 1904, at the meeting of the Society in Washington. For sake of convenience the references are to column and line as given in Robert Harper's *The Hammurabi Code*, 1904.

<sup>2</sup> Translated in Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* iii. 110, and in L. W. King's *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi* iii. 175.

“ Mes volontés les plus chères  
 sur ma stèle j'ai écrit,  
 devant mon image  
 de roi de justice  
 je (les) ai placées.”

It is not clear whether this translation means, I placed my words (Scheil, ‘volontés’) before a separate image (or statue) of myself, or before the image or carving of myself at the top of the stele. But apparently the latter is the meaning of the translation. Otherwise Scheil should have rendered *salmu* not by ‘image’ but by ‘statue,’ as he does in 44<sup>1</sup>, *sa-lam ti-ti-im*, “statue [or statuette] of clay,” and he should have supplied as object to the verb ‘I placed,’ not ‘them,’ i. e. ‘the words’ or ‘laws,’ but ‘it,’ i. e. the stele itself. Or to repeat my own rendering, “I wrote my precious words on my stele, and set (it) up before the statue of myself as king of righteousness.”

The note to Winckler’s translation of this passage<sup>1</sup> leaves no doubt that this scholar sees reference to only one stone, i. e. the stone containing both the inscription and the carving at the top, the latter representing the king standing before the seated figure of the Sun-god. The note reads: “He is represented thereon as ‘king of righteousness’ (law giver); see the picture.” Winckler’s translation reads: [ich habe] “meine kostbaren Worte auf meinen Denkstein geschrieben, vor meinem Bildnisse, als des Königs der Gerechtigkeit, aufgestellt.”

How Robert Harper understands the passage is uncertain. He renders, “My weighty words I have written upon my monument, and in the presence of my image as king of righteousness have I established.”<sup>2</sup> This translation seems to understand the passage as Winckler does.

The version of Peiser<sup>3</sup> reads: [ich habe] “meine kostbaren Worte auf meine Inschrift geschrieben und vor meinem bild, ‘dem König der Gerechtigkeit’ aufgestellt”; on which he remarks: “According to this the stele was set up before Hammurabi’s picture in relief(?)”. This rendering of Peiser’s agrees with my own, except in regard to *salmu*. I have already given reasons for believing that the *salmu* before which the stele was

<sup>1</sup> *Die Gesetze Hammurabi's*, 1903, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> *The Code of Hammurabi*, p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> *Hammurabis Gesetz*, by Kohler and Peiser, 1904, p. 100.

placed was a statue, rather than a relief, though the word might be used of either. But the important point is not whether *salmu* was statue or relief, but whether *salmu* was carved upon the stele or was not.

The inscription distinguishes between the *salmu* (statue, relief ?) and the *naru* (inscribed stele). The laws were written on the *naru* and this was set up before the *salmu*.

2. *Kibū*, 'to speak, say' (41<sup>10</sup>).

The passage discussed is followed after a short interval by another (41<sup>1-10</sup>), in which the syntax has not received due attention. The king directs any one who has a suit or complaint to come before his statue (*salmu*), and read his stele (*naru*), which will instruct him what his rights are, and will gladden his heart. He then expresses the wish that this man, impressed with what the king has done for him, may cry out in gratitude, "Hammurabi a lord is like a real father to the people," etc. This speech, to be made by the grateful reader of the code, extends from line 20 to line 38, and the whole is object of the verb *likbi*, 'may he say' in line 40. The failure to note this construction, a favorite construction in the Hammurabi inscription, that of placing the direct object before the verb, even where the object is a long sentence, has brought unnecessary obscurity into this passage.

If the speech (20-38) is not dependent on the verb *likbi*, 'may he say' (40), then there is no verb in the connection on which it can depend. Several interpreters have accordingly in their translations inserted a verb before the speech (Scheil, Winckler, Harper).

Correctly construed, however, the passage is not obscure. The successive steps are as follows: May the man who has a complaint 1) come before my statue (6), 2) read my inscribed stele (*li-iš-ta-as-si*, 'let him read,' from *šasū*, 11). 3) As a result, understand his case and rejoice. 4) May he say (40, *likbi*), Hammurabi is a real father, etc. 5) May he then pray before Marduk and Zarpanit. 6) May the gods then be favorable to him.

All interpreters have cut off the verb *likbi* (40), 'may he say,' on which the speech depends, and have constructed it with the word before it into a separate sentence. Thus, Scheil:

<i>da-ni-tum</i>	"le document
<i>li-ik-bi</i>	qu'il épèle!"

Winckler: "Wenn er die Urkunde gelesen." Harper: "Let him read the code." Peiser: "Die Urkunde möge er vortragen." These renderings are all wrong, because all based on a dismemberment of the sentence. That they are wrong appears further from the facts that *kibū*, "to speak, to say," often used in the code, never elsewhere in the inscription, means 'to read,' and that to render 'read' here is to repeat what was already said in line 11, *listassi*, 'may he read.' Still further, this dismemberment leads to the creation of a new word, *da-ni-tum*, 'document, Urkunde, code,' as the object of *likbi*.

Apparently those who so read derive *danitu* from the stem *dānu* 'to judge,' which with its derivatives, *dānu*, 'a judge,' *dīnu*, 'judgment, case,' *dānātu*, 'judgment, judgeship,' occurs many times in the inscription. Nowhere else do we meet the form *da-ni-tum*. There is indeed doubt as to the reading, whether the first sign be really *da* or *id*. Scheil transliterates as *da*. The photographic reproduction looks more like *id* with a scribal correction to *da*.

Whether we should read *da* or *id*, or whether the three signs read by Scheil as *da-ni-tum* should be otherwise combined, it seems to me most probable that they contain or conceal some adverb of manner, telling *how* the reader is to cry out, Hammurabi is a father, etc. If *da* be correct, I would suggest reading: *da-ni-tam* (for *dannitam*, from *dānānu*, 'to be mighty'; cf. *ir-ri-tim da-ni-a-tim*, 'mighty curses,' 44<sup>th</sup>), understanding it as equivalent to *danniš*, 'mighty,' or, in this connection, 'with a loud voice.' The passage would thus mean: May he come before my statue, read my inscription, rejoice in heart, and cry aloud, Hammurabi is a real father, etc.

### 3. *Pi Matim*, 'Language of the Land' = Vernacular (5<sup>th</sup>).

This expression occurs in the brief paragraph which precedes, as it were introduces, the code. The passage reads: "When Marduk sent me to govern the people, to bring help to the land, I established right and justice *i-na ka ma-tim*, I brought good fortune to the people." So, without essential variations all translators, except in regard to the words which I have not ren-

dered, *i-na ka-ma-tim* (reading of Scheil, who renders, 'dans la contrée'; and Peiser, who renders 'ringsum(?)'). By treating *ka* as an ideogram, we should read *i-na pi' ma-tim*. So Winckler, 'in den Mund der Leute'; and Harper, 'in the land.' Scheil and Harper in their translations seem to ignore the *ka* or *pi*. Peiser's reading *ka-ma-tim* is evidently derived from *kamū*, 'to surround.' Winckler only seems to consider the word important. If I mistake not, it is a very important word in this connection, for it seems to me to say that Hammurabi set up a system of law in the vernacular, in the mouth, or speech, or language of the land. I should therefore render the sentence in which *ina pi matim* occurs, "I established law and justice in the language of the land." The meaning would accordingly be, not, I taught the people righteousness, as Winckler's rendering, "I have placed right and righteousness in the mouth of the people," would seem to imply; but, I set up a system of law and justice in the language of the land, i. e. in Semitic Babylonian, not in Sumerian; spelled out syllabically, not written in ideograms, so that it could be understood by common people as well as by scholars.

That this is precisely what Hammurabi did is evident from the code itself. That he should appreciate the merit of his action and should state it distinctly as an introduction to his code, cannot be a matter of surprise. That many of these laws existed before his day we need not question, but they probably existed for the most part in Sumerian, the language of the scholar. His chief merit is that he codified the law, and above all, by giving it a Semitic form, made it universally accessible.

That these statements are not unfounded conjecture will appear from some further considerations. It is an interesting fact that we have from the library of Assurbanipal copies of a good many of the laws of the Hammurabi code, agreeing for the most part literally with the original.<sup>1</sup> It is a more interesting fact that from the same library have come the so-called Sumerian family laws, relating to denial of father or mother by

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<sup>1</sup> The sign *ka* might also be read *lišānu*, 'tongue,' though *pi* (פִּי) is more common than *lišānu* in the meaning 'language.'

<sup>2</sup> See Bruno Meissner, *Altbabylonische Gesetze*, in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* iii. 493-523.

a son, rejection of a son by a parent, rejection of husband by wife or vice versa, and the hiring of slaves. These laws are not dated, but the external form, the vocabulary, the syntax, the archaisms, the subjects treated, all suggest the period of Hammurabi, though the penalties imposed in the particular cases do not agree with those of the code. Moreover, these laws relating to the family are in a double recension, Sumerian and Babylonian. They doubtless represent usage before Hammurabi's time, or at the beginning of his reign. A comparison of these laws with those of the code dealing with the same subjects is instructive.<sup>1</sup>

Such comparison shows what great thing it was which Hammurabi did. He amplified and modified existing usages and laws, and issued his code in the vernacular. It thus became the law of the kingdom, and no doubt set aside other and diverse systems which had prevailed in the various little kingdoms of the Babylonian valley. This law constituted a strong bond of union, and was one of the elements in the stability and power of Babylon. One of its great virtues was its appearance in a Semitic dress. The code indicates high attainment in the idea of right and order. Its promulgation in the vernacular added greatly to its usefulness. This was an act comparable to the translation of the Bible from a language understood only by priests and scholars into languages understood by uneducated peoples, and was in its way no less influential.

#### 4. *Kindtim šardku*=‘To communicate laws’ (41<sup>o</sup>).

We have seen how the code arose. Another question is, how Hammurabi represents the origin of the code. Is this great work done by unaided human wisdom, or does he consider the code as divinely communicated, and if so by what god? The references to this subject all occur, if I mistake not, in connection with mention of the sun-god Šamaš, or of the words *kittu*, *kindtu* and *mišaru*.

Šamaš is mentioned by name nine times. In the Prologue the king rises like Šamaš to illumine the land (1<sup>o</sup>), he is obedient to Šamaš (2<sup>o</sup>), he restores the temple of Šamaš his helper (2<sup>o</sup>), and

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<sup>1</sup> For the original text see Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, ed. 4, p. 115.

he even styles himself the mighty king, the Šamaš of Babylon (5<sup>4</sup>). In the Epilogue he prays that by the command of Šamaš he may cause right to shine in the land (40<sup>4</sup>), he is the king of right to whom Šamaš has communicated the laws (41<sup>7</sup>); he prays that Šamaš may prolong his good successor's reign as king of right and may lead his people in the right (42<sup>1</sup>), or as great judge of heaven and of earth, who leads all creatures aright, the lord of help, may do the opposite for an evil successor, overthrowing his rule, not helping him at law, watching his path with enmity, overthrowing his army, revealing an evil omen of the overturning of his throne and the ruin of the land, seizing him speedily with a dreadful curse, snatching him away from the living on earth, and depriving his ghost of water below, within the earth (43<sup>14-10</sup>).

*Kittu* 'right, law,' pl. *kinātu*, is mentioned as follows: "I established *kittu* and *mišaru* in the vernacular" (5<sup>20</sup>). In connection with the work of restoring Anunit to her temple in Agane, he causes laws (*kinātim*) to shine forth and leads the people aright (4<sup>9</sup>). The only other passage with this word has already been adduced, Šamaš communicates to him *kinātim* "laws" (41<sup>9</sup>).

The other word for right, righteousness, *mišaru*, occurs more frequently. Some of the passages have been quoted in connection with Šamaš. The others now follow. Anu and Bel appoint him in order to cause right to shine forth in the land, etc. (1<sup>9</sup>). He calls his code 'laws of righteousness' (40<sup>9</sup>), 'words of righteousness' (41<sup>10</sup>), himself 'king of righteousness' (40<sup>9</sup>, 41<sup>10</sup>, 42<sup>11</sup>), and prays that Šamaš may lead his good successor *ina mišarim*, 'in righteousness' (42<sup>17</sup>).

There are other references to the code in connection with the stems *ddnn*, *awātu* and *nāru*, but it is not necessary to give all of these, since they do not associate the origin of the code with any deity. But the many passages which I have quoted settle the question that for Hammurabi, Šamaš, the great judge of heaven and of earth, is the source of his code. There seems, therefore, no reason to doubt that the bas-relief on the stele, representing Hammurabi standing before Šamaš, the latter seated on his throne, his feet resting on a mountain, is meant to picture the giving of the law. The parallel of Exodus 19 and 20 will occur to every one.

We must now examine more closely the passage which expressly states that Šamaš gave the laws to Hammurabi (41<sup>o</sup>). The passage is clear and simple, but seems not hitherto to have been understood. It has been rendered thus:

Scheil: "Hammurabi, king of justice, to whom Šamaš has granted rectitude, am I."

Winckler: "I am Hammurabi, the king of righteousness, to whom Šamaš has given *das Recht*." This translation is not inconsistent with my own. All depends on Winckler's understanding of *das Recht, kindtim*.

Peiser: "I am Hammurabi, the king of righteousness, to whom Šamaš has given truth (*Wahrheit*)," etc.

Harper: "Hammurabi, the king of righteousness, whom Šamaš has endowed with justice, am I," etc.

The text is: *Ha-am-mu-ra-bi šarri mi-ša-ri-im ša ilu Šamaš ki-na-tim iš-ru-ku-šum a-na-ku*, and the correct translation: "I am Hammurabi, king of righteousness, to whom Šamaš has given [=communicated] the laws."

The important word is *kindtim*. As to *šardiku*, 'to give, present,' whence *išrukū*, this stem occurs often in the code, and is used, e. g., of Bel's gift to Hammurabi of the rule over men. *Šeriktu* is the gift to a bride from her father on her marriage.

Now this *kinātim* does not mean in this connection 'rectitude' (Scheil), nor 'das Recht' in abstract (Winckler?), nor 'Wahrheit' (Peiser), nor 'justice' (Harper), but 'laws,' or 'the laws.' As to its form, it is the simple plural of *kittu* from *kintu*, 'right, law,' like *libāti* from *libittu*, 'brick,' *šunāti* from *šuttu*, 'dream,' *šanāti* from *šattu*, 'year.'

If further evidence of the correctness of this interpretation be asked for, it is furnished by the context. After saying that Šamaš gave him the laws, he adds *ucātua nasgu*, "my words are splendid." What words? Any words which he utters? No. But the words of this code. The phrase occurs one other time, in immediate connection with the code (40<sup>o</sup>), where the king says, "I wrote my precious words [*ucāti* again] on my monument . . . , and I placed it before the statue of myself as king of righteousness, I, the king who is all powerful among the city kings. My words are splendid, my wisdom unrivalled." He then proceeds to pray to Šamaš that right may prevail in the land.



The interpretation of these two passages turns on the meaning of *awātua*, 'my words,' and the point is so important that it may be well to present all cases of the use of the word *awātu* on this monument. It occurs eighteen times. In the code proper it occurs but twice, meaning 'declaration, statement at law' (5<sup>o</sup>), 'testimony' (7<sup>o</sup>). In the Epilogue there are three cases of its occurrence in col. 40, seven in col. 41, five in 42, and one in 43, a total of sixteen occurrences. The meaning in fourteen of these cases is perfectly clear. Twice it means 'case, suit, cause at law' (41<sup>1</sup>, 41<sup>10</sup>); once 'prayer or affair' (42<sup>o</sup>); three times 'command' by a god (40<sup>o</sup>, 41<sup>2</sup>, 43<sup>1</sup>); eight times it means the words of the code (40<sup>7</sup>, 41<sup>2</sup>, 41<sup>4</sup>, 41<sup>8</sup>, 42<sup>1</sup>, 42<sup>7</sup>, 42<sup>10</sup>, 42<sup>20</sup>), in such expressions as, "My precious words I wrote" (40<sup>7</sup>), "Let him hear my precious words" (41<sup>2</sup>), "Words of righteousness which I have written" (41<sup>4</sup>), "Words which I have written on my stele" (41<sup>8</sup>, 42<sup>1</sup>, 42<sup>10</sup>), "If he disregard my words" (42<sup>20</sup>), "If he do not disregard my words" (42<sup>7</sup>).

In these eight passages the king calls his code 'words' three times, 'words of righteousness' once, 'my words' twice, 'my precious words' twice, and these terms never mean anything but the code. The presumption, therefore, in the two remaining passages (40<sup>7</sup>, 41<sup>20</sup>) is that the expression "my words are splendid" refers likewise to the code, and taken in the context they can have no other reference. It will suffice to quote the two passages in the context.

(40<sup>7</sup>-<sup>8</sup>) "I wrote my precious words on my monument, in order to pronounce judgments for the land, to give decisions for the land, to lead the needy aright, and I placed it before the statue of myself as king of righteousness, I, the king who is all powerful among the city kings. My words are splendid, my wisdom unrivalled."

(41<sup>2</sup>-<sup>9</sup>) "If that man [the future ruler] have wisdom, and desire to lead his land aright, let him give heed to the words which I have written on my monument. May this monument teach him (the right) pathway, (good) government, the judgments which I have judged for the land, (and) the decisions which I have given for the land. May he lead aright the black-heads, judge for them, decide for them, root out from his land the bad and the vile, promote the welfare of his people. I am Hammurabi, king of righteousness, to whom Šamaš communi-

cated the laws. My words are splendid, my deeds are unrivalled."

That Šamaš is in Hammurabi's view the source of the law is thus demonstrated.

5. *Imtašar*, 'he reached an agreement' (13<sup>10,11</sup>).

The verb *mahāru*, 'to face, be in front of,' occurs in the code in the derived sense 'to receive' (6<sup>1</sup> and several other times). In the form III, 2 (Istafal) it occurs twice (24<sup>11,11</sup>)<sup>1</sup> in the sense, 'to make oneself the equal or the superior of another,' i. e. 'to put oneself before another.' From the original meaning come the derivatives *maħru*, 'front,' *maħar*, 'before,' *maħiru*, 'price,' *mitħāru*, 'agreeing,' *mitħariš*, 'equally,' *mitħurtu*, 'agreement,' *tamħāru*, 'battle,' i. e. 'meeting face to face, encounter.' Four times the code uses the form I, 2 (Ifteal). In two of these the meaning 'to receive' seems clear (18<sup>17,18</sup>), though the passage is somewhat difficult, and the word is commonly understood to have the same meaning in the two remaining passages.

These are in §§ 45 and 46, and relate to the payment of rent in case of damage by storm. Johns<sup>2</sup> renders § 45: "If a man has given his field for produce to a cultivator, and has received the produce of his field, and afterwards a thunderstorm has ravaged the field or carried away the produce, the loss is the cultivator's"; § 46: "If he has not received the produce of his field, and has given the field either for one half or one third, the corn that is in the field the cultivator and the owner of the field shall share according to the tenour of their contract." So essentially also Winckler,<sup>3</sup> Müller,<sup>4</sup> Kohler and Peiser,<sup>5</sup> and Harper.<sup>6</sup> These translations all agree with that of Scheil<sup>7</sup> in making the

<sup>1</sup> The text of 24<sup>11</sup> is *uš-ta-tam-hi-ir*, an unusual form, apparently a scribal error for *uš-tam-hi-ir*. The scribe either wrote *tam* for *am*, the two signs being much alike; or, he started to write *ta-am*, and after writing *ta* still kept in mind *tam* instead of *am*, and wrote *tam* accordingly.

<sup>2</sup> *The Oldest Code of Laws*, 1903.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Gesetze Hammurabis*, 1903.

<sup>4</sup> *Die Gesetze Hammurabis*, 1903.

<sup>5</sup> *Hammurabi's Gesetz*, 1904.

<sup>6</sup> *The Code of Hammurabi*, 1904.

<sup>7</sup> *Code des Lois de Hammurabi*, 1902.

essential difference between § 45 and § 46 to lie in prepayment or non-prepayment of rent.

That this is really the point of difference between the two laws seems improbable for three reasons: 1. Prepayment was not the usage in the days of Hammurabi. The only exception to this rule in the code is in regard to a shepherd's wages (§ 264), but the text, and in consequence the translation, is doubtful. 2. Crop rent being paid in kind, prepayment naturally follows the ingathering of the crop. 3. It seems unjust that a tenant should suffer so severely in case of storm, simply because of prepayment of rent.<sup>1</sup>

Kohler and Peiser felt the difficulty, and consequently paraphrase the laws, contrary to their translation, thus: "He who hires a field [the tenant] for definite rent has to bear the loss in case of crop failure." "In letting on shares the crop is divided according to circumstances."

This paraphrase differentiates the two laws in a reasonable way. Can it be justified by the translation? The answer depends on the word *imtaħar*, the usual meaning of which is 'he has received.' But from the primary meaning 'to face' might easily come derivative meanings 'to be equal to' (cf. the form III, 2 in kindred sense, 24<sup>2,3</sup>), 'to be in agreement with' (cf. *mitħar*), 'to have an agreement concerning.' I would accordingly propose the following translation of the two laws in question:

#### § 45.

"If a man has given his field to a tenant for crop-rent, having agreed on (a definite) crop-rent for his field, (and) afterwards the storm god inundate the field, or destroy the produce, the loss falls on the tenant."

#### § 46.

"If he has not agreed on (a definite) crop-rent for his field, be it that he has given his field for a half or a third of the yield, the tenant and the owner of the field shall share the grain which shall be in the field according to what is produced (?)."

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<sup>1</sup> There is, however, a parallel in our own shipping laws, according to which, if the cost of freight has been prepaid, it cannot be recovered in case of shipwreck.

6. *Zakāru*, 'to say, mention' (41<sup>1</sup>).

This stem occurs as verb six times in the code. It means always to 'name, say,' and only in connection with swearing 'to take an oath,' which applies to all the four cases in the Qal. In 41<sup>1</sup> we have the form IV, 1. The king says, *i-na Esagila ša a-ra-am-mu šu-mi i-nu da-mi-ik-tim a-na da-ar li-iz-za-ki-ir*, 'In Esagila which I love may my name be mentioned with favor forever.' The translation, 'may my name be remembered with favor in Esagila forever' suggests deification of the king. This is not what he desires, but to be spoken of favorably by Marduk, or by the other gods in intercession with Marduk.

A similar wish, a little farther along, Hammurabi expresses in behalf of the man who reads the code and praises its author: "May the protecting deities, the gods who enter Esagila, daily in Esagila favor (his) plans(?) before Marduk my lord and Zarpanit my lady" (41<sup>18-19</sup>). That is, may the gods help forward his undertakings before the great gods of the temple, Marduk and Zarpanit.

With this passage must be compared the prayer in the next column addressed by Hammurabi to Belit, the wife of Bel of Nippur (42<sup>11-12</sup>). In E-Kur, the temple of Bel, the goddess appears only as intercessor, and she is entreated to induce Bel to overthrow any future king who should damage the code, or not conduct the state according to its provisions. "May Belit, the august mother, whose word is weighty in E-Kur, who favors my plans(?), in the place of judgment and decision turn his words to evil before Bel. May she put into the mouth of Bel, the king, the ruin of his land, the destruction of his people, (and) the pouring out of his life like water," i. e. may she induce Bel to decree these disasters. The *kibitu* in this passage is not a decree, but the word or request which Belit addresses to Bel in hostility to the man whom Hammurabi is cursing. The 'words' referred to are doubtless the man's prayer. These are to be turned to evil, *lamānu* II, 1. This stem is very common in Assyrian, especially in the form *limnu*, 'evil, wicked.'

A pretty close Hebrew parallel to this imprecation is Ps. 109<sup>7</sup>, "Let his prayer be turned to sin," תִּפְלַתּו תְּהִלָּה לְחַטָּאת. Here, however, his prayer is to become sin without the intervention of another to make it such, unless indeed we combine the verse with the one before it.

“ Set thou a wicked man (**ՍԵՐ**) over him:  
And let an adversary (**ՎՐԱ**) stand at his right hand.  
When he is judged let him come forth guilty;  
And let his prayer be turned to sin.”

In E-Kur Bel is the commander, the autocrat, the determiner of destinies. The office of Belit, his companion, is to dispose him favorably or unfavorably to the interests of men. That is the picture here. At other times and in other inscriptions she has more active traits.

*The Cherubim and the Ark.*—By Dr. T. C. FOOTE, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

IN the seventeenth century, the Bishop of Geneva, Francis de Sales, wrote a controversial book in support of the doctrines of the Roman Catholic church, in which he based the edifice of the Papal Supremacy on the letters of some of the earliest popes. In the last century these letters have been proved unauthentic, and Roman controversialists no longer support their contention by an appeal to the 'Forged Decretals.' Yet the edifice which was built upon them continues to stand as securely as ever, and new proofs, in the shape of Christ's words to Peter, are adduced in its support.

The case of the Babylonian origin of the Hebrew cherubim is in a way quite analogous. In the 2<sup>d</sup> ed. of Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the O. T.*, the identification of the cherubim with the bull and lion colossi at the entrance of Assyrian and Babylonian temples, rests upon a supposed discovery by Lenormant of an amulet on which *kirubu damqu* 'good cherub' takes the place of the customary *šedu damqu* 'good protecting spirit'; and also on an attempt of Delitzsch to restore an epithet of the bull god, as *kuru[bu]*.

In the 3<sup>d</sup> ed. of KAT, published in 1903, Delitzsch's emendation is declared untenable (Brünnnow having shown that the most natural restoration is *kuru-u*), and Lenormant's discovery is shown to have been, to put it very mildly, an error. And even if this word *kurubu* were certain, it would only mean, as Kittel has pointed out, that the bull god was called a cherub, and not that a cherub was a bull god. But strange to say, these failures at anything approaching to proof make no difference whatever, and Zimmern asserts (KAT p. 529) that the identification may be considered certain! Delitzsch also in *Babel and Bible* gives a picture of the bull colossus and names it a 'cherub.' This identification is, therefore, archeological, and rests on certain supposed resemblances. Before considering these resemblances, it is first necessary to inquire what is the Hebrew conception of the cherub.

Of the places where these symbolic creatures are mentioned in the Bible, perhaps six are pre-exilic passages. But these passages are none of them early, being conceded to be about the time of the second stratum of J, i. e., about 650 B.C. The first three of these passages belong to J<sup>2</sup>.

Of these we may mention first the cherubim of Gen. 3, 24, placed by JHVH at the east of the garden of Eden to keep the way of the tree of life.

Then there are three passages, namely I Sa. 4, 4, II Sa. 6, 2,<sup>1</sup> and II Ki. 19, 15, to which may be added a later passage, Is. 37, 16, containing the expression **שָׁב הַכְּרוּבִים** ‘sitting or enthroned upon the cherubim.’

In I Ki. 6, 23–35 is a description of the colossal cherubim made by Solomon for the **דֵּבֶר** or most holy place in the temple—two cherubs with wings outspread, overshadowing the place where the ark was to stand. Also there is a description of the ornamentation of the walls and doors of the temple with alternate cherubim, palm trees and open flowers.

In I Ki. 7, 29, 36, the bases of bronze are described as ornamented with cherubim, oxen and lions.

In I Ki. 8, 6, 7, the ark is said to have been placed ‘under the wings of the cherubim, and the cherubim covered the ark.’

There is no doubt that these passages from Kings contain several later additions, but following Stade, Burney and others, we may take it for granted that the statement, that there were cherubim in Solomon’s temple whose wings covered the ark, belongs to pre-exilic literature.

In these passages the cherubim act as ‘coverers,’ or protectors, and closely allied to this is the idea of ‘keepers,’ as in Gen. 3, 24.

But in the expression **יְהוָה צָבָאות שָׁב הַכְּרוּבִים** ‘Sabaoth sitting upon the cherubim,’ the idea is not so clear. Smend, e. g., in his *Religionsgeschichte* (p. 24 f.) maintains that it never refers to God riding on the cherub, but rather to the cherubs as watchers of the heavenly throne. Burney (p. 344) thinks the reference is primarily to the presence of the **שְׁכִינָה** above the **כִּפְרָת**, or mercy seat, in the innermost sanctuary of

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<sup>1</sup> The parallel passage in I Chr. 13, 6, as well as the passages in Chron. parallel to Kings have not been noted, inasmuch as they add nothing.

the temple. But taken in connection with the expressions found in the Psalms, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the cherubim are regarded as the throne on which **ЈНВН** sits.

In the Psalms we come to a somewhat later period, as it is well known that probably all the Psalms are exilic or post-exilic.

In Ps. 18, 10, 'He rode upon a cherub and did fly, yea He flew swiftly upon the wings of the wind.' Here the parallelism shows that the symbolism of the winged cherub is the winged wind. With this must be compared Is. 19, 1 (c. 598 B.C.) 'ЈНВН rideth upon a swift cloud;' Ps. 104, 3, 'Who maketh the clouds His chariot and walketh upon the wings of the wind.' Also Jer. 4, 13, 'Behold He shall come up as clouds and His chariots as the whirlwind. His horses are swifter than eagles.'<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Math. 26, 64, 'Ye shall see the Son of man . . . coming on the clouds of heaven,' *ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*.

In Ps. 80, 1, 'Give ear, O Shepherd of Israel, Thou that leadest Joseph like a flock: Thou that sittest upon the cherubim, shine forth.' Here the symbolism is that of **ЈНВН** as the Shepherd and Leader of His people, with the added idea of shining forth as if to guide by night. With this compare the numerous passages in the Pentateuch, several of which are in JE, where **ЈНВН** descends in a cloud and guides His people, as is described in Ps. 78, 14 'In the daytime He led them with a cloud, and all the night with a light of fire.' In Ezekiel, just before the description of the cherubim we read that **ЈНВН** appears (as in Ex. 20) in a storm cloud, and as it draws near, the prophet perceives that the cloud was the cherubim.

In Ps. 99, 1, 'ЈНВН reigneth; let the people tremble: He sitteth upon the cherubim, let the earth be moved.' Here the cherubim are associated with awe-inspiring majesty; and we may compare Ps. 97, 2, 'Clouds and darkness are round about Him . . . a fire goeth before Him and burneth up His enemies.' Also Rev. 14, 14, 'And I saw, and behold a white cloud; and on the cloud one sitting like unto a son of man, having on His head a golden crown and in His hand a sharp sickle.'

In Ezekiel the cherubim appear as creatures with four faces and with two faces. In Ez. 1, the cherubs form a chariot or throne which is described as resembling a cloud emitting light-

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. with this the eagle face of the cherub in Ez. 1.

ning and thunder.<sup>1</sup> In ch. 41, 18, the cherubs appear, as in Solomon's temple, as wall ornaments, with a palm tree between each two cherubs, which are conventionally represented with two heads, a man's and a lion's, each facing a palm tree.

Finally in Ez. 28, 14, 16, in a passage which is probably corrupt, we find the idea of covering emphasized: 'O covering cherub.' Professor Toy considers the word **תְּסִיבָּה** 'covering,' 'protecting,' to be a gloss to bring this figure into connection with the cherub of Solomon's temple, as in I Ki. 8, 7, where the 'cherubim covered the ark,' and also in the Priestly account of the ark the cherubim spread out their wings on high, covering the mercy seat with their wings (Ex. 37, 9). If the word in Ezekiel be a gloss, it still serves to show that the idea of 'covering' was commonly associated with the cherub.

From these passages it seems quite clear that the symbolism of the cherub is the cloud. Kittel, Smend, Ryle and others have pointed out that the cherub is symbolical of the storm cloud, but this is only part of its symbolism. It is true that the cherub represents the driving storm cloud upon which JHVH rides, accompanied by thunder and lightning, and striking the beholder with terror, but the cherub also symbolizes the cloud that covers, sheltering from the heat and blessing the land with showers. The double signification of the cherubim is analogous to that of water; the overwhelming flood is a symbol of awe-inspiring might, while the dew and rain typify blessing. In like manner the cherubim at the east of Eden are typical of the divine displeasure, and the cherubim upon which JHVH rides are parallel to the storm cloud upon which He appears in Ezekiel 1, and also the awe-inspiring manifestations at Horeb.

I may say, in regard to the cherubim eastward of Eden, with whom is associated the flame of a sword turning in every direction, that I believe they are symbolical of a terrific electrical storm. The noise of the cherub's wings in Ez. 1, 24, 10, 5, is described as the thunder of JHVH's voice on Sinai; so Benzinger, I Kg. 6, 28; Marti, *Kurzer Hand-Commentar*, p. 37,

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<sup>1</sup> Professor Haupt, in the Eng. trans. of Ez. in the *Polychrome Bible*, makes the very plausible suggestion that, in this vision of Ezekiel, the prophet meant that the *whirlwind* is JHVH's chariot. He therefore states that he heard the wheels (the chariot) called *whirlers*.

and Bertholet, Ez. 10, 20. The flame of a sword has long been identified with flashes of lightning; cf. also the lightning issuing from the fire in the midst of the cherubim, in Ez. 1, 13; and the lack of connection between the lightning and any living creature makes this explanation not unlikely. The Hebrew verb used for 'placing' the cherubim **נָשַׁבֵּן** has been felt to be inappropriate to the common explanation of the passage, and Ball's *Genesis* (SBOT) followed by Ges.-Buhl, HWB<sup>1</sup>, proposes to read **נָשַׁבֵּן** 'he set up.' But **נָשַׁבֵּן** is the verb that is used of the fiery cloud abiding on Sinai, Ex. 24, 16, and of the cloud descending and abiding on the tabernacle during the marches in the wilderness (cf. Nu. 9, 17, 22, 10, 12). Hence it is not improbable that the means used to terrify Adam was a thunder storm which would seem to fill the whole horizon. It is to be noted that there is no mention of any gate or entrance to the garden, and hence one might reach the tree of life from various directions; and it would require something which seemed to fill the whole horizon to make approach seem impossible.

Quite distinct from this symbolism of the cherubim is that of the representations in the most holy place in Solomon's temple, and upon the ark in the Priestly code. It is to be noted that the cherub is preëminently a *winged* creature, and the common position of the wings (as in the places referred to) is outspread so as to form a covering. This symbolism recalls such passages as Ru. 2, 12, 'JHVH . . . under whose wings thou art come to take refuge,' Ps. 17, 8, 'Hide me under the shadow of thy wings,' 36, 7, 'The children of men take refuge under the shadow of thy wings,' 60, 7, 'In the shadow of thy wings will I rejoice.' So in Solomon's temple the ark is placed 'under the wings of the cherubim.'

In connection with this aspect of the cherubim it may be noted that Professor Haupt some years ago suggested that the name **כָּרְבָּכָה** might go back to a Babylonian *karibu* 'gracious,' as an epithet of the winged creatures beside the palm trees (see Paterson's *Numbers*, p. 46). But such a name for a winged creature cannot be found in Babylonian monuments.

It still remains to speak of the passages just alluded to where the cherub, palm tree, and open flower occur in alternation in the ornamental work of Solomon's temple. On the bronze bases the cherub appears in alternation with oxen and lions. Here



we seem to have simply conventional designs with no especial connection between the various symbols, any more than there is between the alternate pomegranates and silver bells on the High-priest's robe. It is not unlikely, as Professor Toy has pointed out (*Ezek.* p. 189), that the alternation of cherub and palm tree in Solomon's temple may be due to Phoenician influence, as the design of two figures facing a palm tree is common in Cypriote ornamentation.<sup>1</sup> In Solomon's temple this precise design does not occur, and it seems more probable that as soon as Hebrew art sprang into existence in the time of the monarchy, the symbols of the cherub, the palm, the open flower, the ox and lion appear as indigenous to the Hebrew mind. And if anyone should believe that in early days the Hebrew had received from some foreign source the idea of an angel with wings, and that later the origin of the idea was entirely forgotten, I am sure no one can deny its possibility. But it is certainly unscientific to assert that because two Semitic peoples have ideas of creatures with wings, one must have borrowed from the other. The human mind is likely to evolve the same ideas wherever it is found.

But it is time to turn our attention to the supposed resemblances between the cherubim and the winged bull and lion deities of Assyro-Babylonian art. I do not wish to appear to slight this important subject, but there is very little to be said.

In the first place there is absolutely no proof, and no ground for Delitzsch's and Zimmern's identification, except a fancied resemblance. But where does the resemblance come in? I fail to see anything in common but the wings, and even in this particular the dissimilarity is greater than the likeness. The cherubs fly and use their wings, and the common position is with wings extended so as to overshadow; but where do we find anything analogous in representations of bull deities? The idea of overshadowing wings is that of warding off peril, as Christ uses it of the hen and chickens, which is very different from the threatening bull deities. Perhaps the supposed resemblance which first suggested Zimmern's identification was a comparison between the bull gods as guardians of temple gates and the

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<sup>1</sup> See Burney, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings*, Oxford, 1908, p. 91.

cherubim eastward of Eden, but in reality the resemblance is very slight inasmuch as the bull gods are always in pairs on either side of a gate, while the number of the cherubs is not mentioned and there is no gate! One may, of course, read this into the account, but it is likely to have been omitted if the account had really been based on Babylonian art? But where is a sword or where is lightning associated with a bull or lion deity?

Furthermore, where is there anything to correspond with a deity riding swiftly upon a cherub? If the idea of the cherub was borrowed from the Babylonians, it must be admitted that it has become so thoroughly Hebraized as to be no longer recognizable! Now it is true that the actual form of a cherub is nowhere described, but those who maintain that the cherub was a bull or lion god, or, as some think, a griffin, due to Egyptian influence, have neglected the fact that the cherub has a man's hand and arm.<sup>1</sup>

In the descriptions of Ezekiel, the cherubs have four faces in the flying chariot, but two faces in the ornamental design on the temple walls. I do not recall a Babylonian creature with more than one head, but it is certain that the bull and lion colossi have only human heads. It is one thing for two peoples to have an idea of a winged creature and work that idea up according to their individual mode of thought, and it is an entirely different thing to borrow wholesale a complete artistic conception. The bull deities represent a purely Babylonian conception of God, while the cherub is thoroughly Hebrew in its symbolism of the majesty and at the same time the beneficent care of JHVH. Finally, it is possible that Babylonian influence is apparent in the ornamentation of Ezekiel's temple, where a palm tree appears between two cherubs conventionalized, with two faces looking in opposite directions, but it is to be noted that this group as it appears in Babylonian art is not a conventionalized ornament, but is, no doubt, as Professor Haupt has pointed out, a symbolical representation of the winds that carry the pollen to the trees with female flowers. There is nothing to connect these figures with the cherubim.

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<sup>1</sup> Professor Lyon, of Harvard, has kindly called my attention to a single representation of a bull god with human hands.

For fear of making this paper too long I will say no more on the connection of the cherubim with the ark of the covenant, than to state, in conclusion, that I believe the ancient ark had no cherubim upon it for the very reason that a later scribe has added to its original name the phrase 'שְׁבַּכְּרֹבִים', containing a symbolism so different from that of the overshadowing cherubim that it would never have been used had the scribe known of the covering cherubim of the Priestly code. The same fact shows the addition of this phrase to be in all probability pre-exilic. The influence of the description of the ark in the Priestly code where the wings of the cherubs overshadow the mercy seat is plainly seen in the translation of the AV. in which the phrase 'שְׁבַּכְּרֹבִים' is rendered 'who dwelleth between the cherubim,' which the RV. has changed to 'who sitteth upon the cherubim.' It is strange that the ark finds no place in Ezekiel's ideal, but the writers of the Priestly code, with the description of Solomon's temple before them, may have found in the statement that the ark was 'under the wings of the cherubim, and the cherubim covered the ark,' the idea which led to the familiar conception of the ark in post-exilic times.

*Polysyllabic Roots with Initial P in Tagalog.*—By WILLIAM  
G. SEIPLE, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

IN Tagalog, the principal dialect of the Philippine Islands, as in the other Malayo-Polynesian languages, roots are mostly disyllabic, as e. g., *buhay* 'to live,' *kain* 'to eat,' *inum* 'to drink,' *sulat* 'to write,' etc. Roots may be used as words without change or may be combined with particles to form derivative nouns and verbs. A large number of nouns and practically all verbs consist of a combination of root and derivative particles, but in all cases the root is very readily recognized, as in *kahagian* 'kingdom' from *hadi* 'king' with prefix *ka* and suffix *an*, *sumulat* 'to write' from *sulat* with the infix *um*, and *magladó* 'to play' from *ladó* 'to play' with the prefixed particle *mag*.

While the great majority of roots in Tagalog consist of two syllables, there are quite a number of three or more syllables. In some cases, these polysyllabic words are loan-words, mostly from Sanskrit, as e. g.: *palibhása* 'since, seeing that,' from *paribháṣā* 'sentence'; *antála* 'to interrupt,' from *antarā* 'an interval'; *doloháka* 'to give a false interpretation,' from *drōhaka* 'a traitor'; *halagá* 'price,' from *argha* 'price'; *salantá* 'beggar, mendicant,' from *śrānta* 'ascetic'; and *sampalatáya* 'to believe,' from *sampratyáya*.<sup>1</sup>

In a number of other cases, these polysyllabic roots are due to the derivative processes of the language, as reduplication of the root and combination with particles. Polysyllabic roots which are due to reduplication are, generally speaking, of four kinds: (1) Those with reduplication of the first syllable of the root, as e. g.: *laláki* 'man' or 'male,' which is a reduplicated form of *laki*, which in Tagalog means 'great' or 'large' and in Bisayan is the ordinary word for 'male'; and *dalaćá* 'two,' which is the reduplicated form of *lawá* or *dawá*, as is shown by Malay *dua*, or the usual form in the various Polynesian

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dr. Frank R. Blake's paper on *Sanskrit Loan-Words in Tagalog*, in the Johns Hopkins University Circulars, vol. xxii, No. 163 (June, 1908), pp. 63-65.

dialects, *lua* or *rua*. For the interchange of *d* and *l* compare above, pp. 165, 175. (2) Those with reduplication of the last syllable of the root, as e. g.: *bulaklák* 'flower,' which occurs in Bisayan in the unreduplicated form *buluk* with the same meaning. (3) Complete reduplication of the root, as *bagaybágay* 'things of different kinds,' from *bágay* 'thing.' (4) A peculiar kind of reduplication, which consists in adding a syllable at the end, made up of the first part of the first syllable of the root and the last part of the last syllable of the root, as e. g.: *dugasdás* 'to do something in great haste,' which seems to be derived from a simple root *dag'ás* 'to call in haste,' by adding the syllable *dás*, composed of *d*, the first part of the first syllable, and *ás*, the last part of the last syllable, of the root *dag'ás*.

The origin of a number of polysyllabic roots from simpler roots, as e. g.: *bihída* 'rarely'; *dióna* 'a Philippine wedding-song' or 'drinking-song'; *sugápa* 'a little net'; and *tangháli* 'midday,' is not clear, but the majority of those beginning with *p* are really nothing but dissyllabic roots with verbal prefixes, which in turn have come to be regarded as simple roots, as e. g.: *paágá* 'to rise early,' from *ága* 'to dawn'; *pakimatyág* 'to listen,' from *matyág* 'to listen'; *pamóno* 'to commence,' from *póno* 'beginning'; and *panjáko* 'to vow, promise,' from *áko* 'security.' This seems to be shown by the way in which the tense-stems are formed.

In the active voice, the infinitives of most verbs, with the exception of those of the *um* class, where the verbal particle is sometimes infix, are formed by prefixing a verbal particle, which may be either monosyllabic, as *mag* or *man*, or dissyllabic, as *maki* or *magpa*. Such infinitives are e. g.: *magladó* 'to play,' *manlibík* 'to jest,' *makisakáy* 'to embark with,' and *magpasalámat* 'to thank.' The preterite of these verbs is made by changing the *m* of the infinitive to *n*, e. g., *nagladó* 'he played,' etc. The future and present of the verbs with monosyllabic particles are formed by reduplicating the first syllable of the root in these infinitive and preterite forms respectively. For example, from the inf. *magladó* is made the fut. *maglálado*, and from the pret. *nagladó*, the pres. *naglítado*. The present and future of verbs with dissyllabic particles are formed by reduplicating the second syllable of the prefix, instead of the first syllable of the root. For example, from

the inf. *makisakáy* and pret. *nakisakáy*, the fut. *makikisíkay* and pres. *nakikisíkay* are formed. In other words, the general rule is that the future and present are formed by reduplicating the second syllable of the infinitive and preterite; in the case of monosyllabic particles, the second syllable being the first syllable of the root, and in the case of dissyllabic particles, the second syllable of the particle.

The passive, which is far more common than the active and which in fact may be said to be the most usual form of the Philippine verb, is of three kinds, characterized by the particles *in*, *i*, and *an*. The infinitives of these three passives are made by changing the *m* of the active infinitive to *p* and suffixing *in*, prefixing *i*, or suffixing *an* respectively, except in the case of the *um* class referred to above, where the passive particles are added directly to the root. For example, from *magladó*, we have the three forms *pagladóin*, *ipagladó*, and *pagladóan*. The preterite is made by infixing the particle *in* after the initial *p* of the particle, as *ipinagladó* and *pinagladóan*. In the formation of future and present the same syllable is reduplicated, which received the reduplication in the active forms, that is to say, the first syllable of the root, when the particle is monosyllabic, and the second syllable of the particle, when the particle is dissyllabic, as e. g., *ipaglalađó* and *ipinaglalađó* from *mag-ladó*, and *ipakikihatid* and *ipinakikihatid* from *maki-hatid* 'to carry along with.'

In the case of verbs of the *man* (pass. *pan*) class, formed from roots beginning with a labial, dental, or guttural, the final *n* of the prefixes *man* and *pan* is combined with the initial consonant of the root, resulting in a simple labial, dental, or guttural nasal respectively, e. g., *mamíhay* 'to dwell' from *man+báhay* 'house,' *manuksó* 'to tempt' from *man+tuksó* 'temptation,' and *manjúha* 'to take much' from *man+kúha* 'to take.' Before roots beginning with a vowel, *n* is changed to *ng*, as e. g., *mangísdá* 'to fish' from *man+isdá* 'fish.'

The polysyllabic roots, beginning with *p*, which were referred to above, make their tense-stems as follows. From the root *panalángin* 'to pray,' we have the act. inf. *manalángin*, pret. *numalángin* by changing *m* to *n*, fut. and pres. *mananálágin* and *nananálágin* by reduplicating the second syllable of the infinitive and preterite respectively. From the root

*pakinábang* 'to profit,' we have the pass. inf. *pakinabánjan*, fut. *pakikinabánjan*, pret. *pinakinabánjan*, and pres. *pinakinabánjan*. That is to say, the polysyllabic root is treated like the passive stem of a regular verb, i. e., like the combination of a root and verbal particle.

The apparent polysyllabic root, *panalángin*, therefore, seems to be a combination of the root *dalángin* and the particle *man*, which in its passive form is *pan*, *n* and *d* being combined to form the dental nasal *n*, as in the case of the regular verb *manikit* 'to stick to' from *man+dikit*. In the same way, a large number of these polysyllabic roots may be resolved into combinations of simpler roots and verbal particles.

The roots treated in this paper are all the polysyllabic roots which are designated by Noceda<sup>1</sup> as *P* in M., i. e., the initial *p* of the root is changed to *m* to form the infinitive of the verb. In many cases, it is uncertain how the future and present of the verbs made from these roots are to be formed, as Noceda ordinarily makes no statement concerning them. It is quite possible that many simply follow the analogy of roots like *pások* 'to enter,' which makes the following tense-forms: inf. *mások*, fut. *mamások*, pret. *nások*, and pres. *nanások*. All those which are given by Minguella<sup>2</sup> as reduplicating the second syllable of the root in the present and future, are designated by (†). Of the remaining roots, those which, to judge from the examples given by Noceda under the various roots, follow the same rule, are marked (‡); those which follow *pások* are marked by (||).

Of the 150 odd roots of this kind, given by Noceda, the following are plainly combinations of dissyllabic roots with verbal particles:

- † *paága* 'to rise early.' *ága* 'to dawn' + *pa*.
- || *pakimatyág* 'to listen, hear.' *matyág* 'to listen, hear' + *paki*.
- pakiwaní* 'to ask.' *wani* 'to ask' + *paki*.
- palapák* 'to split anything sidewise, to be separated or disjointed.' *lápak* 'to lop off the branches' + *pa*.
- || *palípit* 'to twist.' *lípit* 'ribbon, tape' + *pa*.
- palókot* 'to beat with a stick, to beat soft as pillows.' *lókot* 'to roll up the bed or the sleeping-mats' + *pa*.

<sup>1</sup> *Vocabulario de la Lingua Tagala. Reimpreso en Manila, 1860.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ensayo de Gramatica Hispano-Tagala* (Manila, 1878).

*palósay* 'to loosen the hair' (of a woman). *lósay* 'to dishevel the hair' + *pa*.

† *pamagá* 'to swell.' *bagá* 'a tumor, abscess' + *pan*.

*pamáhac* 'breakfast' or 'to breakfast.' *báhac* 'something kept over night for breakfast' + *pan*.

*pamálong* 'a scarecrow' or 'to set up a scarecrow.' *pálong* 'to fear to enter a dangerous place' (of animals) + *pan*.

*pamantál* 'to be swollen, a swelling.' *buntál* 'to bundle up clothes' + *pan*; *mantál* 'a little swollen' seems to be a secondary root, due to a wrong division of *pamantál*.

*pamantóngan* (Appendix)<sup>1</sup> 'to sit on the edge of something high, from which one might fall.' The ultimate root seems to be *pantóng* 'a plant not growing well, because of its not having a deep root;' the verbal particle is *pan*. The -*an* is probably the nominal suffix, denoting place.

† *pamanghíd* 'to swell.' *panghíd* 'to swell' (of the nerves) + *pan*.

*pamangsá* 'to boast, brag.' *mangsá* 'boasting, to praise' + *pan*.

*pamítig* 'contraction of the tendons.' *bítig* 'to contract the tendons' + *pan*.

*pamútin* 'fish-hook, to fish.' *bítin* 'to hang or suspend anything by a cord in the air' + *pan*.

*pamogsó* 'chorus or refrain to a marriage-song.' *bogsó* 'to discharge rain with force from the clouds'; metaphorically, 'to vent anger' + *pan*, the point of comparison being the volume of that which is discharged, whether rain or anger, etc.

*pamoktó* 'swelling of the eyelids, to swell.' *moktó* 'eyes swollen from weeping, sleep, or smoke' + *pan*.

*pamóno* 'to commence.' *póno* 'beginning' + *pan*.

*pamóok* 'to cut or hack in fighting; to cut one another, to cut many.' *boók* 'to kill by beheading' + *pan*.

† *pamos'ón* 'urinary disease, to suffer from it.' *pos'ón* 'the hypogastric region' + *pan*.

*pamoybóy* 'to relate something from the beginning.' *boybóy* 'to relate something from beginning to end' + *pan*.

*pamóyok* (cf. *pamóok*) 'to cut off the head.' *póyok* 'to behead' + *pan*.

<sup>1</sup> Noceda, *op. cit.*, pp. 363-417.



*panagál* 'hard work; to sail with the wind against you.' *tagál* 'tenacity, firmness' + *pan*.

*panágas* (Appendix) 'to ebb.' *tágas* 'to ebb' + *pan*.

† *panaghóy* 'to sigh, groan.' *taghóy* 'to breathe with force' + *pan*.

† *panahón* 'to cultivate palms on another's land; to lodge in another's house.' *dáhon* 'leaf' + *pan*.

† *panálig* 'to hope, trust in.' *sálig* 'confidence, trust' + *pan*.

† *panambítan* 'to lament with dirges.' *sambítan* 'dirge' + *pan*. *Sambítan* is derived from the root *sambít* 'to sing a dirge,' combined with the nominal suffix *an*; cf. *pamantónjan* above.

† *pananálo* 'to conquer.' *tálo* 'victory' + *pan*. Minguella gives the root as *panálo*; the form given by Noceda is probably the verbal noun.

*paníim* 'to penetrate' (of water). *tiyím* or *niyím* 'to ooze, leak' + *pan*. The difference between *-iim* and *-iyim* seems to be simply orthographic.

† *paniín* 'to prop with the hand.' *tíin* 'to prop one's self on hands and feet in order to rise' + *pan*.

*paníling* 'to be like anything which the mother has seen at the time of conception' (of a baby). *níling* with the same meaning + *pan* or *pa*.

† *panimdíim* 'to think.' *dimdíim* 'to think' + *pan*.

*panólong* 'to aid another to gather rice.' *tólong* 'to aid' + *pan*.

† *panolóyan* 'an inn.' *tolóyan* 'a lodging-place' + *pan*; *tolóyan* is derived from *tóloy* 'to lodge,' by the addition of the suffix *-an*, denoting place; cf. *pamantónjan*, p. 291, and *panambítan* above.

† *panóod* 'to look at with pleasure.' *nóod* 'to look at that which gives pleasure and recreation' + *pan* or *pa*.

*panotsót* 'to pipe,' 'a pipe or flute.' *sotsót* 'a pipe' + *pan*, or perhaps a denominative from the noun *panotsót* 'pipe or flute,' formed with the nominal prefix *pan*, denoting instrument, as in *panúlat* 'pen' from *súlat* 'to write.'

† *panóyo* 'to serve at the pleasure of another.' *sóyo* or *súyo* 'to serve' + *pan*.

*panğahás* 'boldness, courage; to dare, venture.' Probably from *dahás* or *tahás* 'brave' + *pan*. We should expect *panahás*.

The guttural nasal is probably due to some analogical influence. Cf. *panjiboghó*, p. 298.

† *panjáko* 'a vow' or 'promise.' *áko* 'security' + *pan*.  
*panjálo* 'swelling of any part of the body.' *njálo* 'pain in the body or bones through fatigue' + *pan* or *pa*.

*panjulobaybáy* 'to sail cautiously, to coast' is derived from *baybáy* 'seashore,' compounded with the element *halo*, which is often prefixed to roots composed of two identical syllables, as *halobaybáy* 'a little sardine,' and *halokipkip* 'to cross the arms on the breast.'

† *panjámba* 'to fear, suspect.' *gambá* 'to fear' + *pan*.

† *panjanák* 'to give birth to a child.' *anák* 'a child' + *pan*.

† *panjánay* 'to be pregnant with the first child.' *njánay* 'a woman who has born her first child' + *pan* or *pa*.

*panjandí* 'to be in heat, to rut' (of cats). *kandí* 'to quarrel' (of cats) + *pan*.

*panjánib* (Appendix) 'to fear, suspect.' *gánib* 'to be in danger' + *pan*.

† *panjádap* 'to dream.' *ádap* 'to dream' + *pan*.

*panjásog* 'lewd words spoken in jest.' *ásog* 'a hermaphrodite' or 'a barren woman' + *pan*.

*panghadahadá* 'to let one's self be seen by another,' which seems to be a combination of *pang* and *hadahadá*, is simply a combination of *pan* and *hadahadá*, the reduplicated form of *hádu* 'to put one's self in a conspicuous position.' *Pan* with *hádu* would be contracted to *panjáda*, and with the reduplication of the root we should expect *panjádahadá*, but we have *panghadahadá* instead. The *h* immediately following the guttural nasal is probably retained because of the influence of the *h* in the second part of the reduplication.

*panjibangbáyan* 'to travel, go on a pilgrimage' consists of the phrase *ibáng báyan* 'other town' from *ibá* 'other' and *báyan* 'town,' joined by the ligature *ng*, combined with the particle *pan*, the combination *ibáng báyan* 'other town' being treated as a simple root. Noceda gives the root *njibangbáyan* and refers it to the *ma* class, but this is simply due to the wrong division of some such form of *panjibangbáyan* as the act. pret. *nanjibangbáyan*, *na* being regarded as the particle.

† *panjiki* 'to tremble of cold or weakness.' *njiki* 'cold, to tremble of cold' +*pan* or *pa*.

*panjilin* 'to abstain from things forbidden in worship.' *njiling* 'to celebrate a holy day, to keep Sunday or vigils' +*pan*. We have here an interchange between final *ng* and final *n*, such as we have in the case of the ligature *-ng*, which sometimes becomes *-n*, e. g. *bádo-ŋg castila* and *bádo-n castila* 'Spanish shirt.' Cf. also the ligature *na* with the cognate Bisayan *n̄a*.

† *panjimi* 'to be asleep' (of the body or any part of it). *njimi* 'to cramp, fall asleep' (of arm or foot) +*pan* or *pa*.

*panjisig* 'an attack of an enraged man.' *kisig* 'strong, valiant' +*pan*.

*panjita* 'to hunt for something.' *kita* 'to see' +*pan*.

*panjólag* 'to be restless' (of an animal). *njólag* 'to have the hair dishevelled or feathers ruffled' +*pan* or *pa*.

† *panjólíng* 'to retract a promise.' *njólíng* 'to retract a promise' +*pan* or *pa*.

*panjólo* 'to put the hands over the head.' *njólo* 'to join one's hands over one's head' +*pan* or *pa*.

† *panjóna* 'to go before to point out the way, to begin anything.' *óna* 'first, beginning' +*pan*.

† *panjósap* 'to speak.' *ósap* 'to speak' +*pan*.

† *pangyáli* 'to be able.' *yáli* 'to finish' +*pan*.

In a number of cases, the root, which is combined with the verbal particle to form the polysyllabic root, contains itself more than two syllables. These, as a usual thing, can not be reduced to anything simpler, but in a few cases they may be referred to a dissyllabic root.

*palabusákit* 'to work with effort.' *labusákit* 'to put firmness in any work' +*pa*. Cf. *sákit* 'sickness, trouble, work.'

*palakáya* 'any instrument for fishing; to fish.' *lakáya* 'to fish' +*pa*.

† *pamolápol* 'to bedaub the outside of a vessel, as with pitch.' *polápol* 'to stain' +*pan*.

† *pamongkáhi* 'to incite, provoke.' *pongkáhi* 'to incite to quarrel' +*pan*. Cf. *pongká*, which has the same meaning.

<sup>1</sup> *Pan* becomes *pang* before the semi-vowel *y*, but *ng* does not begin the second syllable as in the case of *nj* before a vowel.

The root *monkáhi* (<\**mongkáhi*?) is probably due to a wrong division of *pamongkáhi*.

*panagipús* 'to be very hot, to heat one's self, to consume.' *tagipús* 'a dry or rotten log consumed in the fire' +*pan*. *Tagipús* seems to be a combination of some root with the prefix *tagi*. Cf. the following root.

† *panagisúyo* 'to subject one's self to the dominion of another.' *tagisúyo* 'to subject one's self to the will of another' +*pan*. *Tagisúyo* seems to be a combination of a prefix *tagi*, which occurs in Bisayan (e. g., *tagibanna* 'inhabitants of the country,' from *banua* 'country'); cf. *súyo* 'to subject one's self to the dominion of another,' and *talasúyo* 'subject to the will of another.'

*panalandák* 'to make the hair stand on end.' *talandák* 'to put forth an erect sprout' +*pan*. Cf. Malay *lundak* 'porcupine.'

*panalánjin* 'to speak, to pray.' *dulánjin* 'to ask for favor' +*pan*. *Dulánjin* seems to contain an infixed *l* element, such as occurs in Bisayan;<sup>1</sup> cf. Bisayan *dangjin* 'to offer anything to God or the devil.'

*panalíma* 'to obey, taking great care of that which is ordered.' *talíma* (with infixed *li*, cf. preceding root) 'to impress something on the mind' +*pan*. Cf. Bisayan *tama* 'to raise the voice, to say anything in a loud voice in order that what is said may be well understood.'

† *panayimlím* 'to penetrate, saturate.' *taimlím* (Appendix) 'to penetrate' +*pan*.

*panhiningjá* 'to clean the teeth; a toothpick.' *hiningjá* 'toothpick' +*pan*, without the assimilation of *n* and *h*, and the resulting *nj*.

† *pániklohód* 'to kneel on the ground.' *tiklohód* 'to kneel on the ground' +*pan*. Cf. *lohód* with similar meaning.

† *paningkayád* 'to sit down on the haunches.' *tingkayád* 'to sit down on the haunches' +*pan*.

† *paniwála* 'confidence.' *tiwála* 'confidence' +*pan*.

*pangalaták* 'to rattle castanets with the tongue.' *nalaták* 'to beat castanets with the mouth' +*pan*. In *pangalaták*,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zueco, *metodo . . . para aprender . . . un idioma cualquiera adaptado al bisaya*, Manila, 1871, p. 146.

we have the guttural nasal for the simple nasal, as in *pan̄gahás*, p. 292.

*pan̄jalatón* 'to resound.' *alatóat* or *kalatóat* 'echo' + *pan*.

† *pan̄galidang* 'leanness, lankness.' *n̄galidang* 'leanness, to be skin and bones' + *pan*.

*pan̄galogting* 'to chatter with cold' (of teeth). *n̄galokting* 'sparks,' 'to rattle or chatter' + *pan*.

*pan̄galoakbák* 'to separate.' *kalokabkák* 'to separate' (of the mortar in a wall) + *pan*. Cf. Bisayan *kabkab* 'to scrape or scratch earth or anything else with the hands.' The prefix *kalo* is similar to the prefix *halo*, cf. *pan̄galobaybáy*, p. 293.

† *pan̄galokipkip* 'to cross the arms on the breast.' *halokipkip* 'to cross the arms,' etc. + *pan*. The root occurs also as *panhalokipkip*, without the assimilation of the *n* to the *h* of the particle, resulting in the guttural nasal *n̄g*. For the prefix *halo*, cf. *pan̄galobaybáy*, p. 293.

† *pan̄janinó* 'to look at one's self in a mirror.' *anino* 'image' or 'to look at one's self in a mirror' + *pan*.

† *pan̄janyáya* 'to speak ill, to blame.' *anyáya* 'to harm' + *pan*.

† *pan̄gayombabá* 'to be sad.' *n̄gayombába* 'to put the chin on the palm of the hand' + *pan* or *pa*.

† *pan̄gayopápa* 'to be humbled or abased.' *n̄gayopápa* 'to humble one's self' + *pan* or *pa*.

*panghaláyi* 'to affront any one.' *haláyi* 'to hate any one' + *pan*, with the change of *u* to *ug* but without loss of *h*.

*panghingóha* 'to be offended by taking to one's self what is said to another.' *hingóha* 'to be offended' + *pan*; the *n* of the particle is treated as in *panghaláyi* above. Cf. Tagalog and Bisayan *kóha* 'to take.'

† *pan̄jimbólo* 'to be envious of another's good fortune.' *n̄jimbólo* 'jealousy' + *pan* or *pa*.

† *pan̄jimorlót* 'to rebound, as a ball.' *n̄jimorlót* with same meaning + *pan* or *pa*. Cf. *orlót* 'to rebound, as a ball.'

*pan̄ginó* 'to submit.' *pan* + a root \**gino*, cf. *ginóo* 'grand lady.' Connected also with *pan̄ginón* 'lord.'

† *pan̄jológi* 'to sustain a loss in that which one administers.' *n̄jológi* 'a loss in trade' + *pan* or *pa*.

*pan̄goyápit* 'to avail one's self of an opportunity.' *kuyápit* 'to seize anything with hands and feet' + *pan*.

There are a number of these polysyllabic roots, which seem to be a combination of simpler roots and verbal particles, the simpler root of which is apparently not found in Tagalog but occurs in Bisayan or Malay, viz:

† *pakinábang* 'to profit' is made up of *paki* and *tábang*, which in Bisayan means 'to aid, to favor.' We should expect *pakítábang*, but after the particle *maki* (passive *paki*), certain roots, beginning with *b*, *p*, *s*, *t*, undergo the same phonetic change in combination with the particle as is characteristic of the *man* class (cf. p. 289). For example, from *balítā* 'news' (=Sanskrit *vārttā*), we have *makimalítā* 'to ask for news,' just as we have *mamáhay* 'to reside' from *man* and *bíhay* 'house,' and from *sóso* 'to suck,' we have *makinósó* 'to ask for suck,' just as we have *manuksó* 'to tempt' from *man* and *tuksó*.

*palaták* 'to sow at intervals and without order.' Perhaps a combination of *lutak* with *pa*. Cf. Malay *latak* 'to put, lay, place, set, set down' and Tagalog *paták* 'a drop of any liquid,' or 'to drop.'

*palatimpó* 'to sit down on top of the heels, as women are wont to do.' Probably a denominative verb from a noun compounded of a root \**timpó* (cf. Malay *tinpuh* 'to sit with the legs under one') + a prefix *pala*, which is often used to form derivative nouns, as *palainúm* 'drunkard' from *inúm* 'to drink.'

*palumpákan* 'to sit down on something high and narrow.' Perhaps to be connected with Malay *umpak* 'base, foundation, pedestal, stand.'

*pamáhid* 'to clear one's self of guilt.' \**páhid+pan*, cf. Bisayan *páhid* 'to clean, purify.'

*panagáñas* 'to flow or ebb.' A root connected with Bisayan *tagáñas* 'to leap or dash, as water in a spring'; *taganás* 'a shallow river, rivulet, or pool'; or *dagáñas* 'the noise of a breaker on the seashore' + *pan*. Cf. also *panágas*, p. 292.

† *panáoy* 'to descend by means of a ladder' (the ordinary word used for leaving the house, since most Philippine houses are set on posts and reached by a ladder). \**náoy+pa*, cf. Bisayan *naoy* 'to descend.'

‡ *panimpohó* 'to sit down with the knees on the ground and the feet on the buttocks' (said of a woman). *timpohó* 'to sit

down on the heels' + *pan*. *timpohó* is doubtless a lengthened form of \**timpó*.

† *panógot* 'to guide.' Cf. Bisayan *panogot* 'guide, chief, commander; to guide,' from *sogót* 'to obey' + *pan*.

† *panólos* 'perfect fulfilment of another's will.' \**tólos* + *pan*, cf. Malay *tulus* 'sincere, true, trusty, loyal, faithful, sincerity, fidelity, trust, reliance.'

*pangadyí* 'to pray.' \**kadyí* + *pan*, cf. Bisayan *kadyi* 'to pray.'

Some of these polysyllabic roots seem to be made up of simpler roots with certain particles, not recognized as such by the Spanish Tagalog grammarians, as *panag*, *pani*, and *pana*. Of these, *panag* and *pani* are found as verbal particles in Bisayan. The verbal particle *panag* seems to occur in † *panag-ádaw* 'the time in which a thing is done,' in which the word for 'day,' *ádaw*, is clearly the root. To this same class in all probability belong † *panaghili* 'to envy' from *hili* 'envy' and † *panagáno* 'to dedicate, offer, pray,' from *anó* 'what?' or 'something.' *Panagosilaw* 'spectacles, to put the hand over the eyes to look at the sun,' from *silaw* 'to dazzle' (of the sun) and *panangkalúw* 'to lean the body against the window-frame,' from *kaláw* 'something flexible,' are probably to be referred to this class.

The particle *pani* appears in the root *panibágo* 'to appear anew,' from *bágo* 'to do something anew.' Cf. Bisayan *pani-aga* 'to eat' from *ága* 'dawn,' and *panibúnt* 'to suit, be agreeable,' from *búnt* 'to wish, to want.' The root † *panjiboghó* 'to be jealous' (of married persons) seems to be a combination of the root \**boghó* and the particle *pangi*. Cf. Bisayan *bogho* 'to be jealous.' The particle *pangi*, however, is, in all probability, simply a modification of *pani*, which particle occurs in the related noun *panibughó* (Appendix) 'jealousy.'

The particle *pana* occurs in the words † *panagínip* 'to dream' from *ginip* 'to dream'; † *panatíli* 'to continue, to last,' from *tilí* 'to prop'; *panatólak* 'to go out of a place,' from *tólak* 'to go'; and † *panasíla* 'to sit down, crossing the legs,' from *síla*, which is identical in meaning.

There are four roots, beginning with *p*, which are examples of the kind of reduplication that we have in *dagusdís*, p. 288: *palodpód* 'to cut the tops or shoots of rice.' Cf. Bisayan *pálod* 'to peel or to husk fruit.'

*palokpók* 'garden stuff which does not grow well.' *palók*  
'abstinence on account of the death of a relative.'

*palongpóng* 'to cut off the tops of trees.' *pílong* 'the crest of  
a bird,' or 'comb of a cock or hen.'

*payikpík* 'to press in order to contain more.' *páyik* 'to knead,  
to mold.'

The remaining polysyllabic roots cannot be referred with any certainty to any simpler root either in Tagalog, Bisayan, or Malay. It is to be noted that only two of these roots are given by Minguella as reduplicating the second syllable in present and future. It is quite possible that many of the other roots are not combinations of dissyllabic root and verbal particle but are simply polysyllabic roots beginning with *p*, which form their preterite and present like *pások* 'to enter' (cf. p. 290).

*pagítan* 'to be placed between.' Possibly a compound of either the particles *pay* or *pa*.

*pakiáw* 'to injure or wrong in word or deed.' Possibly a combination of the particle *pa*.

*pakiníg*<sup>1</sup> 'to listen with attention.' Perhaps *pa+kinig* or *paki+inig*.

*palakól* 'axe.' Cf. Bisayan *palakol* 'axe' (Sk. *parasu*, 'axe'?).

*palamáta* 'bracelets of glass.' This word and Malay *permata* 'precious stone' are probably loan-words from the Sanskrit, representing *paramatā* 'excellence.'

*palantí* 'the rope or cord with which the stick which serves as a mill to extract the oil from sesame is tightened.' Perhaps a combination of the particle *pa*.

*paladdák* 'to be trodden under foot of many.' Possibly a combination of *pa*.

*palasíwi* 'to sit down, crossing the legs, but with the knees low and flat.' Possibly a compound of *pala* and *síwi*. Cf. *palatimpó*.

*palisay* 'a kind of shield used in the dances.' Possibly *pa*.

*pamangsól* 'to obey.' Possibly *pa* or *pan*.

† *pamáyan* 'to look at little stones or amulets, as relics of saints.' Possibly *pa* or *pan*.

† *pamáypoy* 'to wag the tail' (of a dog). Probably a combination of *pan* and a root \**paypoy*, connected with *paypáy*

<sup>1</sup> Spelled *paequinigg* in Noceda, p. 225\*; *cqu* is simply *k* and the *y* is a mistake, cf. the spelling *paquinig*, Noceda, p. 511, l. 21 from bottom.

‘fan’; Bisayan *paypay* ‘a fan or anything which serves to create air; to chase flies.’ Cf. the root *payipay* below.

*pamíhi* ‘to bless.’ Possibly *pa* or *pan*.

*pamíol* ‘pain in the bones’ (of him who suffers from syphilis or venereal disease). Possibly *pa* or *pan*.

*panowát* ‘to pay the acknowledgment of his freedom’ (of a slave). Possibly some root connected with *bowís* ‘tribute’ + *pan*.

† *panáta* ‘to promise.’ Possibly *pa* or *pan*.

*panúig* ‘to stick to the right.’ Possibly *pa* or *pan*.

*paniká* ‘to take root poorly because poorly sown’ (of rice). Possibly *sika* (Appendix) ‘the tender grass above the water in a field’ + *pan*.

*panikála* (1) ‘to put things in order’; (2) ‘to speak ironically.’ Possibly *pa* or *pani*.

*panjálina* ‘to fix the fastenings of a load, which go over the shoulders and under the arms.’ Possibly a compound of *pan* and *\*ulína*, to be connected with *alíma* ‘the hind quarter of an animal.’

*panjáwao* (1) ‘to seek the enemy to kill him’; (2) ‘to divide something.’ Probably to be connected with *ágaw* (1) ‘to assail each other’; (2) ‘to carry off anything’ + *pan*.

*panjílap* ‘to be scornful.’ Possibly to be connected with *silap* ‘to quarrel with words’ + *pan*. Cf. *panjahás*, p. 292, and *panjatalák*, p. 295.

*panjílim* ‘to twist.’ Possibly *pan* or *pa*.

*panjínláp* ‘to guard or defend one’s self.’ Possibly *pan* or *pa*.

*panjíwakyó* ‘to move the feet or legs while talking.’ Possibly *pan* or *pa*.

*panjonyápit* (Appendix) ‘that on which anything is supported or propped.’ Possibly *pan* or *pa*.

*patibóng* ‘a mouse-trap’ or ‘to set one.’ Possibly *pa*.

*patnóbay* ‘to expect, wait, go out in company with another.’

*patnógot* ‘to accompany in taking leave of one who is going.’

*payápay* ‘to call by making signs with the handkerchief or hand.’ Perhaps a modification of *paypáy* ‘fan’ under the influence of *kapíy* ‘to call with the hand or handkerchief,’ or possibly a shortened form of a root *payapáya*, which occurs in Bisayan in the sense of ‘to be moved from side to side by the wind.’ Cf. *pamáypoy* above.

*pilantik* 'a spark of fire; to strike with finger, cane, or stick.'  
*poyapóy* 'to be tired out from sheer labor.'

In Tagalog, therefore, while for the most part roots are disyllabic, we find a number of polysyllabic roots. Some of these are loan-words from the Sanskrit, while others are due to the derivative or reduplicative processes of the language. Although there are a number of polysyllabic roots in the language, which cannot be referred to any simpler root, the great majority of all polysyllabic roots with initial *p*, as we have seen, are merely combinations of simpler roots and various verbal particles, which, for the most part, the Spanish grammarians failed to recognize as such; in some cases, because the simple root did not exist in the language, as e. g., *panáyog* 'to descend,' in others, because in many cases the passive stem, i. e., the combination of a simpler root and passive verbal particle, was used absolutely as a noun and therefore came to be regarded as a root, as e. g., *pakinábang* 'advantage.'

In the present article, I have confined myself to a discussion of the polysyllabic roots with initial *p* which change *p* to *m* to form the infinitive. The study of all the polysyllabic roots in Tagalog would, no doubt, throw a great deal of light upon the morphological processes of the language and would probably enable us to explain a number of the polysyllabic roots in *p* which at present cannot be analyzed.

In conclusion, I desire to express my obligations to Dr. Frank R. Blake for many valuable suggestions and explanations.

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<sup>1</sup> The statement "Ma. P. in M," given by Noceda under this root, is not entirely clear. If it simply means that the root with prefix *man* gives *mamilantik*, then *pilantik* does not belong here.



“*Yāwān*” and “*Hellas*” as Designations of the Seleucid Empire.—By CHARLES C. TORREY, Professor in Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

THE Hebrew term יָוָן, “Javan,” was originally the collective designation of the Ionians of Asia Minor (Ιάωνες=’Iāwōnēs), and then came very naturally to be applied to the whole Greek race inhabiting the distinctly Greek lands. This latter is the standard usage of classical Hebrew, and of the other Semitic languages in which derivatives of this same word are found.

In the ancient times, the Greeks did not really enter into the Semitic world. They were simply a distant trading people, and ideas regarding them and the countries which they occupied were very vague. But with the conquests of Alexander all this was changed. A powerful Greek empire was planted in the very heart of the Semitic territory. Greek armies, traders and colonists poured into Syria, and the new-comers asserted and maintained their supremacy. An absolutely new world-power had been created.

Naturally, this great change had its effect upon the use of the terms יָוָן and οἱ Ἰωνίς, “the Greeks.” The Jews and their neighbors knew little more about the Greek lands, to be sure, than they had known before. Greece, and Macedonia, and the Greek islands, were all *terrae incognitae* and objects of little interest. They could be designated in Hebrew by the vague and all-comprehensive term יָוָן, or by the equally vague בְּחִתִּים, frequently used for the Greek coast-lands and islands,<sup>1</sup> or even by οἱ Ἰωνίς.

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<sup>1</sup> So, for example, Jer. 2:10, בְּחִתִּים: Num. 24:24 (whence Dan. 11:30); cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 1, vi. 1. On the other hand, in the two passages 1 Macc. 1:1 and 8:5 the word appears to be used to mean definitely the Macedonian kingdom. Thus 1:1, Καὶ εγενέτο μετὰ τὸ πατάξαι Ἀλεξανδρὸν τὸν Φιλίππον τὸν Μακεδόνα, ὃς ἐξῆγεν ἐκ γῆς Χετταῖοι, καὶ ἐπάταξε τὸν Δαρεῖον βασιλέα Περσῶν καὶ Μῆδων, καὶ ἐβασιλεύετο ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Here the name of the country in which Alexander had been reigning as king before his conquest of the East is given as οἱ Ἰωνίς, *Kittim*. Similarly in 8:5, καὶ τὸν Φιλίππον καὶ τὸν Περσίαν βασιλέα, καὶ τοὺς ἐπηρέμενους ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, συνέτριψαν αὐτοὺς [οἱ Τρωμαῖοι] ἐν τολέμῳ καὶ

the "islands" in general. But the Greek race, with its superior language and all-dominating civilization, had now become one of the closest of neighbors, and the hand of a Greek ruler rested heavily on Syria and the adjoining countries. From this time forth, ּוּ Yāwān took on an altogether new and definite meaning, for it was the name applied to the Greek state in Semitic Asia.

The Seleucid empire was to the Syrian Semites the "Greek dominion." They had no other name for it. Thus in the early Syriac documents, the dating is by the term, **מלכות יוֹנִיא**, "the rule of the Greeks," i. e. the Greek power in Asia which Alexander and his successors established. So in the Greek translation of First Maccabees, one of our earliest witnesses, the dominion of Antiochus Epiphanes and his successors is termed "the kingdom of the Greeks," **βασιλεία τῶν Ἑλλήνων** (1 Macc. 1:10, and elsewhere).<sup>1</sup> In the Jewish Talmud and Midrash, the  **יוֹנִים** are the Seleucid Greeks. Thus *Megillah* 11a, **לא מסתים ביום יוֹנִים**, "I did not reject them in the day of the Greeks," i. e. in the time of the Seleucid rule. And observe especially how in *Midrash Esther*, near the beginning, both  **מלכות יוֹן** and (oftener) ּוּ alone are repeatedly used to designate the Seleucid power, preceded by the Medo-Persian dominion (**מדין**) and followed by the Roman (**ארדום**). Thus: **במלכות יוֹן שבל ימי יוֹן**, "During the Greek rule, i. e. throughout the whole Greek period." And finally, there are in the Hebrew Old Testament certain passages, to be discussed below, in which the same usage appears, ּוּ meaning the Greek empire in Asia.

*κατεκράτησαν αὐτῶν.* the allusion being to the Macedonian kings Philip III. and his son Perseus, who were defeated by the Romans, the former in 197 and the latter in 168 B. C. In both of these passages we should expect to find a generally recognized designation of the Macedonian domain. In the passage 1:1 the use of this term is all the more interesting because of its juxtaposition with another political designation, namely *Hellas*, which here stands for the Seleucid empire, as will be shown below.

<sup>1</sup> See further below, where the passage 1 Macc. 1:10 is discussed. Contrast the usage of Josephus, who had himself gone beyond the borders of Asia, and wrote his histories for the benefit of Greeks and Romans. Thus, for example, in *Ant.* xiii. 6, 7, in dating by the Seleucid era he designates it as that "of the kings of Syria," **τῶν Συρίας βασιλέων** (according to another reading, **τῆς Ασσυρίων βασιλείας**).

Further illustration of this changing use of the term Yāwān comes from India.<sup>1</sup> The word came to the Hindus from the Babylonians, probably during the Persian rule, but possibly earlier. It was thus in its origin a mere transfer of current Semitic usage. In the Great Epic and Pāṇini, the "Yavanās" are the Greeks in general; the far-off and vaguely known people for whom, since the time of Darius Hystaspis, the Orient had a new respect. But as Weber has shown (see his letter in *The Indian Antiquary*, 1875, pp. 244 f.), it was not until the conquest of the East by Alexander that the name Yavana became well known and popular in India. From this time on, there is increasing evidence that the influence of Greek culture was making itself strongly felt. Note especially the phrase, "the all-knowing (*survajñā*) Yavanās," *Mbh.* viii. 45, 36, in a chapter which Professor Hopkins (*The Great Epic of India*, p. 392) regards as a late interpolation. It was the Greek civilization in Asia that had made this profound impression. The application of the name, moreover, undergoes a change which is altogether analogous to that which has been observed in Semitic usage. The "Yavanās" are the Greeks of the Asiatic dominions, and especially the Bactrians, situated just beyond the borders of India. Naturally, the nearest Greek people is given the first right to the name. Similarly, the nearest important Greek power overshadows all the others, and is spoken of and thought of as though it were the only one. Thus, in the rock inscription of Asoka, the Seleucid ruler Antiochus Theos is spoken of as "the Greek king."

That is, to the Hindus as to the Semites, the whole Greek world had simply moved eastward. Since the time of Alexander the Great, the center and head of Yāwān and the Yavanās was no longer in Europe, but in Asia. Alexander was not a sojourner; he came to stay, and brought his kingdom with him.

This use of γν, Yavanā, was a most natural one. As has just been observed in connection with the Hindu usage, the fact of proximity is all-powerful in fixing the application of such truly popular designations as these. Those Greeks who are seen and known through actual contact are "the Greeks."

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<sup>1</sup> For the references to the literature bearing upon this subject I am indebted to my colleague, Professor Hopkins.

Moreover, in this case the actual importance of the Seleucid empire gave further justification for the Asiatic way of speaking of it as “*the Greek kingdom*,” as though there were no other. That this Syrian power stood at the head of all the Greek world, no one in Semitic Asia would have doubted, from the time of Seleucus I. onward. Then, too, it was easy (and perhaps especially easy for Semites) to transfer the ethnic name to the political entity. יון had never been a geographical designation, and it was just the term to use for the great Greek power. Such transfers of usage are very common, and parallels at once suggest themselves. Among the most familiar ones belonging to the history of Syria are the use of רומא, *al-Yūm*, for the Byzantine empire and its subjects, and that of ترك, “Turk,” as the designation of Syrian Mohammedans, of whatever nationality.

It remains to notice the Old Testament use of the word יון as the designation of the Greek empire in Asia.

There are, in fact, in the latest books of the Old Testament several examples of this usage, though it has not received due recognition, and some of the principal passages which exemplify it have been universally misunderstood. In the Lexicon of Gesenius-Buhl, only two meanings of the word יון are recognized: (1) the Ionians of Asia Minor, and (2) Greece and the Greeks in general. In Briggs-Brown-Driver, a single passage (Dan. 8:21) is given in which the word means “the Greek kingdom of Alexander.” Only in Siegfried-Stade are all the chief examples of this usage included and put in a place by themselves; and even there the definition given, “das makedonische Weltreich,” is an unfortunate one, for the adjective “Macedonian” is sure to be misleading.

The best starting-point is furnished by the passage 1 Macc. 8:18, in which the meaning is certain and the illustration of current popular usage beyond question. The historian, writing of the times of Judas Maccabaeus, speaks of the oppression of the Jews by the Syrian power, and designates the latter as “the kingdom of the Greeks,” τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων. In the original Hebrew<sup>1</sup> this was מלכות היוונים or מלכות יון.

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<sup>1</sup> That the original language of 1 Macc. was Hebrew, and not Aramaic, is beyond all question.

It might have been either of the two, and was certainly the one or the other. In all of the canonical Old Testament passages which represent this usage, namely Zech. 9:13, Dan. 8:21, 10:20, 11:2, the Hebrew word used is יְמִינָה, not מִינָה, and the Greek (in Daniel both LXX and Theodotion) translates by Ἐλλῆνες. We may therefore feel pretty certain, especially in view of the Ἐλλάς (!) of 1 Macc. 1:1 (see below), that the author of this history wrote מלכות יון in speaking of the Seleucid kingdom.

Another passage of the same nature is 1 Macc. 1:10, where the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes is mentioned. The historian says of him that he "ascended the throne of the Grecian kingdom in the [Seleucid] year 137."<sup>1</sup> Here also the phrase employed is βασιλείας Ἐλλήνων, and the Hebrew pretty certainly had יְמִינָה. These are the only examples of the phrase βασιλεία (τάν) Ἐλλήνων in 1 Macc. In Dan. 11:2, however, we have מלכות יון, used in precisely the same sense, as will appear presently.

Dan. 10:20 is a passage in which יְמִינָה, *Yāmān*, alone is used to designate the Greek state in Asia. The author is speaking of the struggle of the guardian angels of Israel against the angels of the great powers which successively oppress the Jews. The angel Michael, Israel's "captain" (שָׁרֵךְ), is at that time fighting with the "captain" of the Persian kingdom (פָּרָם, verse 13); and the angel Gabriel, foretelling the future to Daniel, says that as soon as this conflict is over, another will begin, namely that with the "captain of *Yāmān*." וַיַּעֲתֵה אִשְׁׁבֵךְ לְהַלְחֵם עִם שָׁרֵךְ פָּרָם וְאַנְּכִי יוֹצֵא וְהִנֵּה שָׁרֵךְ יָן כִּי: "And now I return to fight with the captain of Persia (i. e. of the Persian kingdom, vs. 13), and when I have finished," lo,

<sup>1</sup> In this verse, the phrase βασιλείας Ἐλλήνων is generally connected with the preceding date, the verb being regarded as used absolutely, thus: "He reigned in the 137th year of the Grecian kingdom." I do not believe that this interpretation is the correct one. There is no reason why the writer should have designated the era of his chronology. He was narrating recent events, and those for whom he wrote, namely the Jews of Palestine, had for generations past used only the one era. On the contrary, the word βασιλείας is governed by ἐβασιλεύειν, just as in 11:9, and elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> This meaning of נָצַר, to "finish," is wanting in some of our Hebrew lexicons. It is closely allied to the use of the verb with the meaning "perish," Ezek. 26:18; cf. also the *Hiphil* of this, with the meaning "destroy," in Is. 48:17.

the captain of *Yāwān* will come.” It is plain that *Yāwān* here cannot mean “Greece,” for the Jews never had any conflict with Greece, and the passage would be meaningless. Nor can the word mean “the Greeks” in general. It would not have been possible for a writer who wrote at any time after 300 B. C. to put even the three Greek states, Macedonia, Egypt and Syria, under one and the same heavenly “captain,” or guardian angel. They were rival powers with altogether separate interests, struggling against each other, as every Jew was well aware. Nor did the Jews have any conflict with Macedonia or Egypt. On the contrary, the author of the book of Daniel is speaking of a distinct and very dangerous foe, the foe which was to succeed the Persian power as the oppressor of Israel; and this was the powerful Syrian kingdom whose capital was on the Orontes. This had inherited the name *Yāwān*, and no other state or people could claim an equal right to it. Even Alexander the Great is mentioned by the authors of Daniel and 1 Maccabees merely as the founder and first head of this *Asiatic* empire (Dan. 8:21, 11:3, 1 Macc. 1:1 [as emended below]). In both books alike, Η' is consistently represented as the great power founded in Asia by Alexander, and ruled after him by the Seleucids. Both conception and usage are perfectly natural.

A passage whose interpretation has caused a great deal of trouble is the one with which 1 Maccabees opens. 1:1, Καὶ ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸ πατάξαι Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου τὸν Μακεδόνα, ὃς ἔγινθεν ἐκ γῆς Χεττιείμ, καὶ ἐπάταξε τὸν Δαρεῖον βασιλέα Περσῶν καὶ Μῆδων, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. I do not know of any place where the last clause of this verse is rightly interpreted. As the Greek stands, it is nonsense. In all of our translations and commentaries the nonsense is either faithfully reproduced, or else it is removed by an unwarranted surgical operation. The English Revised Version disposes of the passage in the following manner: “And it came to pass, after that Alexander the Macedonian, the son of Philip, who came out of the land of Chittim, and smote Darius king of the Persians and Medes, *it came to pass*, after he had smitten him, that he reigned in his stead, in former time, over Greece.” And a marginal note adds: *That is, the Greek Empire.* As a specimen of a thoroughly awkward and unsatisfactory “translation,” this verse is probably equal to anything that the Revisers have

given us. It is certainly not calculated to prepossess favorably the layman who makes his first approach to 1 Macc. through this version. Their rendering does indeed possess the merit of recognizing the true meaning of the last word in the verse, which, however, they only venture to translate by "Greece"! Kautzsch, *Die Apokryphen des A. T.*, renders as follows: "Nachdem Alexander . . . Darius, den König der Perser und Meder, geschlagen hatte, herrschte er an seiner Statt [zuerst über Griechenland]." And a footnote adds: "Da der nächstliegende Sinn dieser drei letzten Worte ("Alex. herrschte an Darius' Statt zuerst über Gr.") ausgeschlossen ist, können sie trotz der guten Bezeugung nur Glosse eines Lesers sein, der dem Missverständnis vorbeugen wollte, als sei Alex. d. Gr. erst durch die Besiegung des Darius zu einer Herrschaft gelangt." But even glossators must be granted a sufficient reason for their action. That Alexander was a royal personage before his victory over Darius, is plainly implied in the first part of the verse; he was "the Macedonian, the son of [king] Philip" (of whom every reader of the book had heard since his childhood).<sup>1</sup> What danger of "misunderstanding" was there, and why should it be of such concern to the reader of this history? Grimm, in his Commentary on the book, proposed to read *πρότερον δέ*. This would make a passable reading (though not such as to increase our respect for the literary ability of the author of the book), but would be a curious specimen of textual criticism.

The chief sources of the difficulty are two: the noun 'Ελλάς and the adverb *πρότερον*. 'Ελλάς is elsewhere "Greece"; there is no other instance of its use to mean anything else. As for *πρότερον*, it is hard to find any justification for its presence here. But in the Greek First Maccabees we are dealing with a translation; and, what is more, in this particular case we are dealing with a *mistranslation*. 'Ελλάς is, of course, the rendering of

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<sup>1</sup> *Kittim* and *Yāwān* are both treated as technical terms in this verse, and are plainly contrasted. *Kittim* is the Macedonian Kingdom; cf. 8:5. If either the original author or a glossator had wished to say that Alexander had been king before his arrival in Asia, it certainly would have been done without adding to *Kittim* another name, which could only result in confusion. Compare also the parallel passage in 6:2, where the fact that Alexander was king while still in Macedonia is plainly stated.

יְנֵן. What the author of the book wrote, in this last clause, was: **וַיְמָלֵךְ תְּחִתּוֹ רַאשׁוֹן עַל יְנֵן**, “he reigned in his stead, as the first ruler of the Syrian Empire.” Here, again, we have the current use of *Yāwān*; while in the emphasis laid on the idea that Alexander was the successor of Darius, namely in the possession of Syria and Palestine, and as the master of the Jews and their neighbors, we have a perfect parallel to Dan. 8:21, 10:20, and 11:3. As for the Greek rendering, it is not easy to decide whether the translator really misunderstood the passage, or only translated timidly. If the latter, we can readily forgive him for refusing to paraphrase יְנֵן here; but he certainly should have written *πρῶτος* instead of *πρότερον*.

The correctness of this interpretation of the clause seems to be still further assured by the two passages 1 Macc. 6:2 and Dan. 8:21. The former reads as follows: *καὶ ἐκεῖ . . . ὅπλα, ἀ κατέλιπεν ἐκεῖ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τοῦ Φιλίππου ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ Μακεδόν, ὃς ἐβασιλεύει πρῶτος ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι.* “And there were . . . arms, which Alexander the Macedonian king, son of Philip, had left there; *he who was the first ruler of the Syrian empire.*” Here the original Hebrew must have been: **אֲשֶׁר מֶלֶךְ רַאשׁוֹן בֵּין עַל** (the verb in this case construed with ב instead of על).

The other passage, Dan. 8:21, furnishes a very close and interesting parallel. The angel is interpreting to Daniel the vision of the ram and the goat. Verse 20 proceeds: “The two-horned ram which thou didst see, they are the kingdoms<sup>1</sup> of Media and Persia. <sup>2</sup> And as for the he-goat, he is the kingdom of the Greeks (מלֵך יְנֵן for מלֵך יְנֵן, see the preceding note); and the great horn which was between his eyes is the first king.” (המֶלֶךְ הַרְאשׁוֹן.) Here, there is fortunately no doubt as to the interpretation. The “kingdom of *Yāwān*” is the empire founded by Alexander, who is himself the “great horn.” We have here precisely the same βασιλεία τῶν Ἑλλήνων as in 1 Macc. 1:10 and 8:18, namely, the Seleucid empire, of which Alexander is characteristically regarded as the first ruler—just as in 1 Macc. 1:1, 6:2, and Dan. 11:2 ff.

<sup>1</sup> As all interpreters agree, and the author himself indicates (see 7:17, and cf. 7:23), מלֵך here stands for “kingdom.”

There remains one highly interesting passage to be discussed, namely Dan. 11:2. The angel Gabriel, speaking to Daniel in the days of Cyrus king of Persia, is telling him what things Israel has yet to undergo. He has just told the prophet (in the passage 10:20, already discussed) that the conflict of Israel's heavenly "captain" (שָׁרֵךְ) with the guardian-angel of Persia will be immediately followed by the conflict with the guardian-angel of *Yāwān*. He now announces, a little more definitely, that three (or four!)<sup>1</sup> more Persian kings will reign; and that when the last one of them shall have reached the height of his prosperity and his insolence, **יעיר הכל את מלכות יון**. These words are ordinarily interpreted to mean that Xerxes (!) will raise a great army to fight against Greece: "He (i. e., the Persian king) will stir up everything against the kingdom of Greece." But such a prophecy would be altogether pointless. The author of this book and those for whom he wrote could not have cared a straw for the expedition of Xerxes against Greece, supposing that they had ever heard of it. Again, the context shows beyond all question that the *final downfall* of the Persian power is predicted in these words; and Xerxes was not the last Persian king. And finally, the whole sentence, as thus read, is unsatisfactory from every point of view. **הכל** is ambiguous; this use of **את** is contrary to Hebrew usage; **מלכות יון** is not a likely way of speaking of Greece, and has troubled the commentators accordingly; and of what value is the verb **יעיר**? Supposing that Xerxes has "stirred up" everything against

<sup>1</sup> As commentators have observed, the author of the book of Daniel expressed himself cautiously here because he did not know how many Persian kings there were. It would be surprising indeed if he had known. The fact that he represents the last of these kings (Darius III. Codomannus) as richer and more powerful than his predecessors is sufficient evidence that he derived his information from popular legend (of the conquest of Alexander), rather than from any authoritative text-book of Persian history. The task of keeping distinct the various kings named Artaxerxes and Darius was more than could have been expected of him; it was a problem too difficult for most of the ancient historians and narrators. Of one thing we are certain: that he knew Darius Hystaspis as "Darius the Mede," and placed him *before* Cyrus (10:1, 11:1, compare 5:31). In this, he shares the view of the Chronicler and of the old Jewish tradition generally, as I have shown elsewhere. See my *Composition of Ezra-Nehemiah*, p. 8; and the *American Journal of Theology*, Jan., 1908, p. 133 f.

Greece, we are not informed as to the result; whether there was any actual contest, and whether the Persians were victorious, or vice versa. The “mighty king” of verse 3 is hanging in mid air; there is absolutely nothing to indicate to what nation he belongs.

Obviously, the text has met with a slight accident; the word שָׁר has fallen out after יְעִיר. As the missing word is graphically almost exactly identical with the last three letters of יְעִיר, as they are ordinarily written, the accident would be an extremely easy one. The text originally read: וְכַחֲזַקְתָּו בְּעָשָׂרֹן

יְעִיר שָׁר הַכָּל אֶת מִלְבָוֹת יְהוָה, “And when he has become mighty in his riches, *The Lord of All* will raise up the kingdom of *Yāwān* [in the place of the kingdom of Persia].” This title of the God of Israel, שָׁר הַכָּל, is just such a one as we should expect here. He was entitled שָׁר הַצְבָּא in 8:11, and שָׁר שָׁרִים in 8:25;<sup>1</sup> and it is especially natural that the term should be introduced again here, because of the way in which it has just been used as the designation of the angels in charge of the Persian and Seleucid kingdoms. There is a שָׁר יְהוָה and שָׁר פָּרָם, but Yahwè is the שָׁר שָׁרִים and the שָׁר הַכָּל.<sup>2</sup> It is he who raises up and overthrows empires. The sense of the passage is thus exactly what the context requires, and יְהוָה here also designates the kingdom founded by Alexander and continued (according to the usual Jewish conception) by the Seleucids.

Still another Old Testament passage in which the word יְהוָה has this same meaning is Zech. 9:13, as the context, taken in connection with the evidence of current usage here presented, plainly shows.

<sup>1</sup> See Moore in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1896, pages 193 f.

<sup>2</sup> It is worthy of notice that this is the exact equivalent of *šar kiššati*, the title so often assumed by the Assyrian kings.

*Notes on Bloody Sacrifices in Palestine.*—By HANS H.  
SPOER, Ph.D., Astoria, Long Island.

DURING my sojourn in Palestine in the years 1902–1904, I availed myself of every opportunity to make researches along the lines indicated by the lamented Prof. S. I. Curtiss in his interesting work entitled *Primitire Semitic Religion To-day*.

The sacrifice is still extensively used in Palestine at public functions. Thus when in the year 1903 the road from Jerusalem to Nâblus was opened, the Governor of Jerusalem offered a sacrifice of a sheep at the spot from where the new road started, namely, El-Bireh. The opening of the railroad from Haifa to El-Fûlch in January, 1904, was solemnized by the sacrifice of a sheep by the Pasha at the terminal.

These public functions naturally do not partake of the same character as the sacrifices which are offered at the shrines of the saints.

A very interesting shrine at which sacrifices are offered for different purposes is at Bêsân, the *Σκυθόπολις* of the Greeks. Perhaps the most striking thing in connection with this shrine is the fact that the *weli* venerated here is said to have been originally a Christian bishop Yohannan who turned to the “true faith.” His power is said to be unlimited, and his vengeance will strike without fail the one who provokes him. We have here again an interesting instance of the belief that the saints will avenge any wrong or insult done to them which God may overlook. The Muslims as well as the native Christians have little hesitation in perjuring themselves by invoking God, but will hesitate to do the same in connection with a saint; nor will they ever perjure themselves by invoking such saints as El-Khudr (St. George), who is worshipped by both Christians and Muslims. A Christian native from Râmallâh offered to me a lead coin, his own make, and after I had told him that it was false, he swore by God and the Virgin that it was genuine. Likewise a Muslim who wanted to sell me forged antiquities solemnly swore by his two eyes and by Allâh that they were genuine. As he was blind of one eye, I told him so, and he went away laughing.

Although the sanctity of a saint is often visibly measured by the size of his tomb or coffin, and the sarcophagus of this former bishop is not so very large, perhaps only twenty feet in length, while that of Noah, in the Lebanon, has a length of about ninety feet, yet are his sanctity and power unrivalled, in the opinion of the people of Bēsān. His hypaethral sanctuary is only surrounded by a board wall, and the space inside is almost entirely taken up by the sarcophagus. Two stone steps lead to the door of the sanctuary.

This saint is especially resorted to in cases of blood vengeance. The accused murderer finds here an asylum, and offers to the נָאֵל הָרָם to swear by the saint that he is innocent. This offer must be accepted. The accused seats himself astride the sarcophagus, facing the head, and swears his solemn oath, after which he is declared guiltless. The belief in the sanctity and the never failing vengeance of this saint is so deeply rooted in the minds of the people of that district that even the government resorts to this sanctuary and makes use of the popular belief in cases in which it is doubtful whether the accused man committed the crime or not.

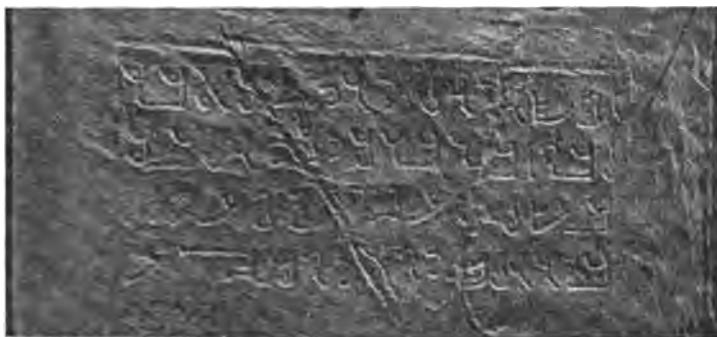
Such a grave offence as, e. g. murder, the outrage of which is felt by the entire *hamūleh* of the murdered person, requires necessarily a sacrifice. This sacrifice is offered outside of the enclosure, near the steps, and the meat is consumed there, most of it being given away. When I enquired of the custodian, an old dervish who wore a pointed green turban, whether the blood of the sacrifice was used for any particular purpose, he answered "no." In spite of a very careful search I found no traces of blood on any part of the sanctuary. However, an old column, which stands in a line with the steps a few feet distant, was covered on the side which faces the sanctuary with a thick crust of blood. The dervish was not willing to speak about the origin of this blood, and was evidently displeased that we had referred to it. There can be no question that the blood on the column came from a sacrificial animal. One could easily detect by the darker and lighter shades of the color of the blood that it had been applied at different times and was not from one sacrifice.

As many as two or three sacrifices are brought at this shrine every week, especially by the Bedu, whose great shēkh, chosen by different tribes, is residing at Bēsān, playing the rôle of a mediator between these tribes and the Turkish government.

*Palmyrene Inscriptions found at Palmyra in April, 1904.*  
—By HANS H. SPOER, Ph.D., Astoria, Long Island.

I.

THIS inscription is 11" long by 6½" wide, and its characters are carefully cut. The stone is now in my possession, but unfortunately is broken into several pieces.



נפיא דנא די חנא בר  
נבוּכְרָבְרָכְלִי חַבְלָי  
בשנת 548  
בירח סיוון יום 18

Translation:

*This is the tomb of Hannah the son  
of Nebuzebed the son of Keli. Woe!  
In the year 548,  
In the month of Sivan, on the 18th day.*

L. 1. **חַנָּא** is here a masculine proper-name. In an inscription published by Chabot<sup>1</sup> it is a girl's name.

L. 2. **נְבוּכְרָבְרָכְלִי** occurs as a proper name in De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, 73<sup>2</sup>. **כַּלְיָי** occurs as a proper name in Vog. 82<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Prof. C. C. Torrey for help given in the decipherment of these inscriptions.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal Asiatique*, série IX, tome 10, p. 327, No. 12, line 8.

<sup>3</sup> Lidzbarski, *Handbuch d. Nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, p. 475.

## II.

## FRAGMENT OF A VOTIVE TABLET WITH A GREEK INSCRIPTION.

This fragment is 8" x 8", engraved on a white marble-like stone. It has three almost fully preserved lines in Palmyrene, and four lines in Greek which form a complete inscription. The characters are carefully executed. The lines in Palmyrene are chipped at the beginning. The stone is now in my possession.



לעלמא רחמנא טבא  
ויענה בירח טבת  
[שנ]ת 536

ABBAΘAKAIAGGAΘ  
PABBVHAUOTOEIA  
ΘOYEYΞAMENOI  
ANEΘHKAN

Αββαθα και Αγγαθ  
Ραββηλου του Εια-  
θου ενξαμενοι  
ανεθηκαν

Translation of the Palmyrene fragment:

... for ever, the Compassionate, the Good, and he answered.  
In the month Tebeth of the year 536.

Translation of the Greek inscription:

Abbatha and Aggath, the children of Rab'el the son of  
Eiath, having vowed have dedicated (this monument).



As there can be no question that these two inscriptions record the same event, we may restore the Palmyrene inscription by means of the Greek. I propose the following restoration:

*Habbatha and Haggath  
the children of Rab'el son of  
Haggath made and consecrated [this] to Him whose  
Name is Blessed for ever,  
the Compassionate, the Good,  
and he answered. In the  
month Tebeth of the year 536.*<sup>1</sup>

חַבְתָּא וְחַנְתָּא בְּנֵי רָבָּא  
אֶל כָּר חַיָּת עֲבָדוֹ  
וּמָוֹן לְכָרֵיךְ שְׁמָה  
לְעַלְמָא רְחַמְנָא טְבָא  
וְעַנְהָ בִּירָחָ טְבָת  
[שָׁנָת] 536

L. 1. Following a suggestion made by Professor Torrey, I read *Αββαθα*=*חַבְתָּא* *n. pr. masc.*, and *Αγγαθ*=*חַנְתָּא* *n. pr. fem.* *חַבְתָּא* does not occur elsewhere, but *חַנְתָּא* seems to occur in at least one other Palmyrene inscription.<sup>2</sup> We then have a reference here to a brother and sister who are called the *רְבָּאֵל* *בְּנֵי* *חַנְתָּא*. *חַנְתָּא* occurs also as a *n. pr. masc.* on a Phoenician seal reproduced by Clermont-Ganneau.<sup>3</sup>

L. 2. *Ραββηλος=אֶל* occurs in both forms in Palmyrene inscriptions. *Ευαθ* is perhaps <sup>6</sup> *חַיָּת*; *חַיָּת=חַיָּת* is known as a *n. pr. masc.* in Nabatean.<sup>4</sup>

L. 3 to l. 4. *לְעַלְמָא* is found in Vog. 97<sup>1</sup>–<sup>3</sup>. The phrase *אֶל עֲבָד וּמוֹדָא* is of frequent occurrence, cf. Vog. 82<sup>1</sup>, 86<sup>1</sup>, 87<sup>1</sup>, 92<sup>1</sup>, 94<sup>2</sup>, 96<sup>2</sup>–<sup>3</sup>; it is not found in the plural. *עֲבָדוֹן* is a well known form. *מוֹדָן* occurs in Vog. 93<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> [Another possible restoration of the missing lines, differing but very slightly from that proposed by Dr. Spoer, and giving a somewhat better connection for the verb *וְעַנְהָ*, “and he answered,” is this:

עֲבָדוֹן חַבְתָּא וְחַנְתָּא  
בְּנֵי רְבָּאֵל כָּר חַיָּת  
דֵּי קְרוּ לְכָרֵיךְ שְׁמָה  
לְעַלְמָא רְחַמְנָא טְבָא  
etc. וְעַנְהָ

Compare Vog. 92 (Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, 476, no. 12), and observe how in the Greek parallel the verb *Κάρα* is reproduced by *εἰξάμενος* (Cooke, *North Sem. Inscriptions*, p. 300, bottom).—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> See Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, p. 270.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal Asiatique*, VIII. série, tome II., p. 304; illustration 28.

<sup>4</sup> Euting: *Sinaitische Inschriften*, 152a. 2, 474. 2.

L. 6. The **ש** of **שָׁנָת** is chipped off: there is, perhaps, sufficient space to read **בְּשָׁנָת** as in the first inscription, cf. also Vog. 98'.



## III.

## FRAGMENT OF A VOTIVE TABLET.

The beginnings of nine lines are preserved. The characters are small and well cut. This stone also is in my possession, but is now broken into several pieces.

1. לְכַרְיךְ שְׁמָה לְעַלְמָא
2. טְבָא וּרְחַמְּנָא עַבְרָתָה
3. הַדְּרִיא בְּרָתָה . . . בְּרָתָה
4. מְרָקְלָא מְוִדְיָא . . .
5. וְשָׁמַע בְּקָלָה יְמָא
6. אַחֲפָנִי בְּרָ מְרָקְלָא
7. וְרוֹחָא בְּתָ מְקִינְמָו
8. וְמְרָקְלָא מְ
9. וְרָפָא בְּ
10. וְ

{

## Translation:

*To Him whose Name is Blessed for Ever,  
The Good, the Compassionate.  
Hadīrah the daughter of . . . the son (or daughter)  
Of Marcellus made [this], having consecrated [it] . . .  
And he hearkened to her voice . . .  
Ethpenī, the son of Marcellus  
And Rūhā the daughter of Moqī[mū]  
And Murcellus . . .  
And Rapha . . .  
And . . . .*

Ll. 1-2 can be reconstructed on the basis of Vog. 84<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>.

L. 3. The name **הָדִירָא** occurs elsewhere in Palmyrene inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> Whose daughter, **הָדִירָא**, it is impossible to state, but Marcellus, l. 4, was probably the grandfather. In that case we must read either **ברָת** or **בָּרָת** before Marcellus.

L. 4. The name **Μάρκελλος**, which Professor Torrey supposes **מִרְקָלָא** to be, occurs several times on Palmyrene stones. At the end of line 4 something must be supplied to connect with l. 5, "and he hearkened to her voice." There are either two or three letters missing. To judge from the context the missing word might be a preposition with a personal pronoun.

L. 5. Neither **שְׁמַע** nor **קָל** occurs in any other Palmyrene inscription so far as I am aware. The phrase **שְׁמַע קָל** is the regular formula used on Phoenician votive tablets, e. g., Tammassus 1<sup>o</sup>, but never with a preposition as here. On the other hand, the phrase **שְׁמַע בְּקָל** is common in Hebrew and Syriac. The better known Palmyrene formula is: **דִּי קָרְאָה לָה וְעַנְהָה**, Vog. 92, Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, pp. 155 sq. There is a peculiar arrow-shaped character after **בְּקָלָה** which may possibly be a mark of punctuation. However, the possibility that it is a ' is not excluded, though in that case the form is remarkable. Again, it may be a ַ, at first omitted and afterward inserted. Of the last word in this line only the letters **בָּ** and **תָּ** have been fully preserved; a third letter which seems to be **אָ** is preserved for the most part: one can clearly see in the original a part of the left lower shank of the letter. It is possible that we should supply an accidentally omitted **תָּ**, restoring the word **מוֹדָהָא**.

<sup>1</sup> Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, p. 258.

L. 6. אַחֲפָנִי is a well known Palmyrene name, cf. Vog. 9<sup>1</sup>, 42<sup>1</sup>.

L. 7. רוחן does not occur elsewhere as a *n. pr.* For the meaning *spirit*, in the only other passage in which it occurs, see A. D. Mordtmann, "Beiträge zur Kunde Palmyras," in *Sitzungsberichten d. kgl. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1875, II, inscript. 18.

L. 7. מקימו<sup>1</sup> בְּרַת=בָּת is a well known *n. pr. masc.*

L. 8. After מְרַקְלָא the head of a מ is visible.

L. 9 seems to me to read, וְרָפָא. Rapha is perhaps a proper name. It occurs in Vog. 98<sup>1</sup>, where it is translated *medicus*, but cf. ib. 75<sup>1</sup>. As this inscription is fragmentary, וְרָפָא might conceivably be the latter part of the name בְּוֹרָפָא; see Vog. 109, Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, p. 481, no. 3. The letter following upon the ו seems to be ב, or a letter of a similar form.

L. 10. The head of a נ is visible.

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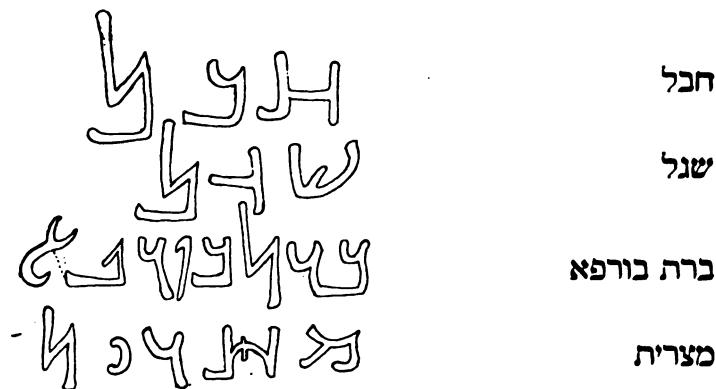
<sup>1</sup> Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, p. 481, no. 6; *Ephemeris*, I. 197.

*Four Palmyrene Epitaphs.*—By CHARLES C. TORREY, Professor in Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

THE stones here described were brought to this country in the year 1902, and are now in the possession of Mrs. Hermann Oelrichs, of New York City. I have not seen the stones themselves; but in addition to the photographs, excellent squeezes of the inscriptions have been kindly furnished me by the owner.

I.

Bust of a woman, with inscription, four lines, at the left of the head.



*Alas! Šegal, daughter of Bōrpā, of Egypt.*

The question has recently been raised, whether the well-known Palmyrene name בורפא should not be connected with the name *Burrapi'u*, which occurs on the Assyrian contract-tablet lately found at Gezer. See the Palestine Exploration Fund's *Quarterly Statement*, July, 1904, pages 232 f., 240. But as the Assyrian name is not yet transparent, while בול-רפָא, supported by רפְכּוֹל, *Rephakol*, *Ῥεփαβωλος*, is a most natural compound, we may well hold to the usual explanation for the present.

With the *nisba*, מצריית, giving the origin, or former dwelling-place, of the person named on the monument, compare בָּרְתִּיאָ, *Bartia*,





II.



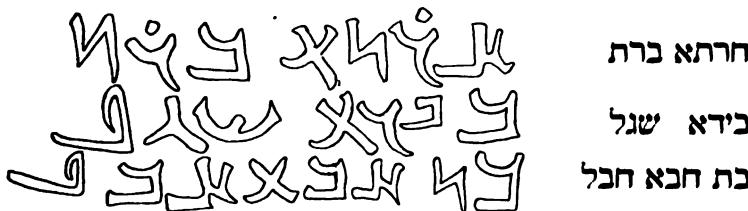
I.

*Bηρύτος*, in a Palmyrene inscription published by Ledrain, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, II. 1, no. 5 (cited by Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, s.v.).

The form of the letter ፩ is worthy of notice.

## II.

Bust of a woman, with inscription in three lines running perpendicularly at the left side of the head.



*Harta, daughter of Baidā: Šegal, daughter of Habbā. Alas!*  
The proper name חֶרְתָּא has been found but once hitherto, and the form is queried (חֶרְתָּא ?) by Lidzbarski in his *Handbuch* (Glossary, s.v.). But both in the present inscription and in the former one (Lidzb., plate XLI, 7) the letter is distinguished as ፩ by a strongly marked dot; so that now the form may be regarded as certain. The name may be connected with חֶרְרָא, but perhaps more probably with חֶרְרָה, i. e. Harrēthā, Hērtā (or Ḥortā), “free,” Arabic حُرَّة. The name חֶרְתָּא in De Voguē, *Syrie Centrale*, no. 132 (Lidzb., *Handbuch*, plate XLII, 2) might be read more probably חֶרְתָּא, *unica*.

On the name Baidā, transliterated Baīdā in Vog., no. 4, see Clermont-Ganneau in the *Revue Archéologique*, ser. III., vol. 8, pp. 146 ff.

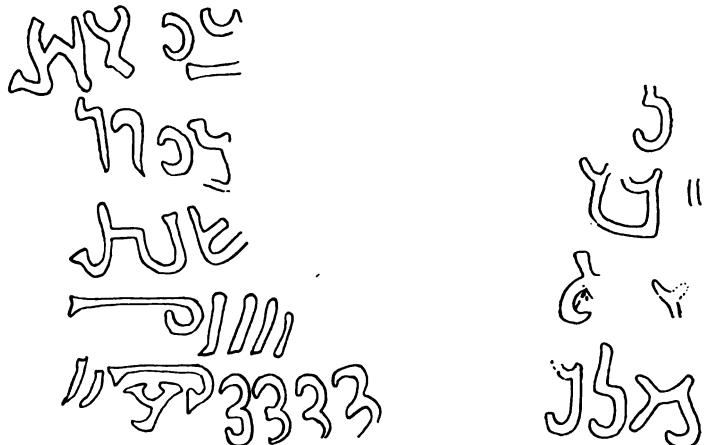
בָּת, “daughter,” written without ፩, as in Lidzb., *Handbuch*, p. 481, no. 6; in the inscriptions numbered 34, 136 B, 385, and 394 D, in the *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, vol. i; and (apparently) in an inscription published by Dr. Spoer in this *Journal* (above, p. 317 ff.). In these cases, the number of which will probably be increased, the word is written as it was presumably always pronounced, *bath*. In compounds the abbreviated orthography is common.

The name חֲבָא, apparently from the root حَبَّ, is found in Palmyrene inscriptions not only as masculine, but also as feminine. For the latter we might expect חֲבָתָא, which may indeed be the original of the *Ἄββαθα* in the bilingual inscription published by Spoer in this Journal (above, p. 316).

## III.

Bust of a man, with an inscription the beginning of which is on the left side of the head and the conclusion on the right side.

A part of the stone at the left side of the head is broken away, so that the beginning of at least two of the four lines is missing. The surface of the stone is also so abraded that the remaining characters can not all be made out.



כירח

סיון

שנת

497

חֲבָא

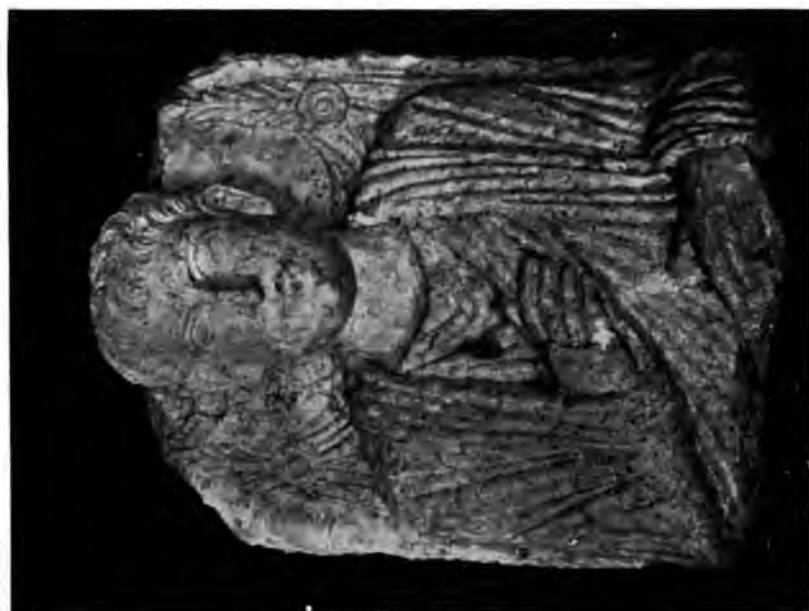
- - - שֶׁבֶר

- - - אַ

- - מלכ[ו]

[*Ala]s!* ——, son of ——, [son of] *Malk[ū]*; in the month *Sivan*, in the year 497 (=185 A. D.).





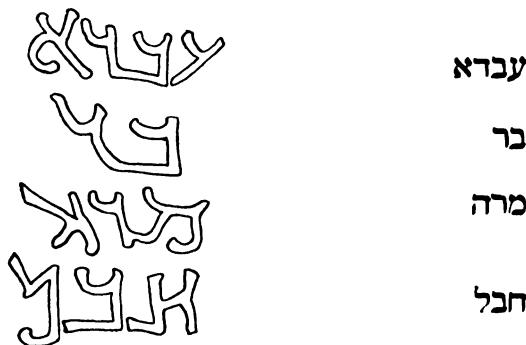
IV.



III.

## IV.

Bust of a man, with an inscription in four lines at the right side of the head.



*‘Abdā, the son of Mārēh. Alas!*

The name עבדא appears here for the first time as a Palmyrene proper name, though it was already known in Nabataean and Sinaitic inscriptions.

The name מרה, presumably the same as מרא, deserves especial notice. The masc. proper name, written in this way, does not occur elsewhere, though the form is regular. In Biblical Aramaic we find the construct state of the common noun, “lord,” written מרה, side by side with מרא.

*Two Letters from Professor Porter in regard to the Bod-  
'Aštar stones in Beirut.—By Professor CHARLES C.  
TORREY.*

THE former of the two letters was written from Beirut in February, 1904, by Professor Harvey Porter, of the Syrian Protestant College. It was called out by the chapter entitled, "A New Inscription from the Temple of Ešmūn," in my article *Semitic Epigraphical Notes*, published in vol. xxiv. of this Journal, pages 218-226, and aimed to show, by an appeal to the original stones themselves, that the restoration of the inscription there proposed is untenable. The letter was addressed to the editors of the Journal. Professor Porter writes: "There is a difficulty in regard to the first legible letter in the first line, which is clearly a ְ, and Dr. Torrey would solve it by making it a ֲ, the final letter of צדָן. But the downward stroke to the right of this ְ cannot belong to a ֲ, as he conjectures, but to a ַ, the horizontal stroke of which is plainly visible on the stone and still contains traces of the red coloring matter with which all the letters were originally stained. Hence Dr. Schröder's conjecture that this letter is ַ is perfectly correct, so that Dr. Torrey's restoration of the first line must be in error. Moreover, at the right of this letter where Dr. Torrey places two marks which he thinks might be portions of a ַ there is absolutely nothing like the trace of a letter, the damage to the stone having destroyed all such traces.

Also to the right of this space, about the distance of another letter, there is a downward, nearly perpendicular, stroke, perfectly clear, which might belong to a ַ, or ָ, or ֹ, but hardly to a ְ, as it inclines the wrong way. From this point on to the right the stone has been so badly damaged that nothing can be made out, but Dr. Schröder's conjecture that the word preceding the ְ is בְּדָעֵשָׁרָת seems more in accord with the traces on the stone than Dr. Torrey's restoration.

In regard to the two fragments upon which occur the words צדָן and ַ, they undoubtedly belong together one above the other, as will be seen by the rough drawing I enclose. The

broken letters of the upper fragment are exactly matched by the traces on the upper portion of the lower fragment. It should be noted, however, that the space at the right of the first letter on the upper one is at least twice the space between letters, and the stone here has not been defaced and could never have contained a letter. Hence, if this fragment precedes the word בֶן in the second line on the main stone, it must have begun the line, and thus Dr. Torrey's conjecture that the line began with בְּנָלֶךְ cannot be correct. Likewise, on the lower fragment, there is no trace of an נ at the right of the ' as there might be I should think from the space; so it seems to me that neither the condition of the main stone nor the fragments bear out Dr. Torrey's emendations."

The second letter, which is dated June 6, 1904, contains Professor Porter's own restoration of the mutilated inscription, employing the two small fragments, which he also now believes to have originally joined the larger fragments at the right hand, supplying partially the beginning of the second and third lines. In regard to this he writes: "Supposing that the two small fragments belong to the larger right-hand fragment (which I think most probable), and that the one which has צָדְנָם on it begins a line (as it must, I think, since there is no trace of any letter before it although the blank space is more than sufficient for one), then the last-named fragment would naturally fall at the beginning of the second line of the inscription. If this word were followed directly by the בֶן on the larger fragment, we should have space in the first line for מלך בְּדֻשְׁתָרָת before הַבָּת which is the first letter there distinctly legible. The בְּנָי of the other small fragment would then fall before הַבָּת in the third line, and we should have:

מלך · בְּדֻשְׁתָרָת · בֶן · צָדְקָה · יְתַנְמֵלֵךְ · מלך  
צדְנָם · בֶן · מלך · אַשְׁמָנָעָז · מלך · צָדְנָם  
[אִית · הַבָּת · ז · בֶן · לְאַלְיָה · לְאַשְׁמָן · שָׁר · קְדָשָׁה]

This supposes the name of the father of Bodastoreth to read Yatan Melek, instead of Sadik-Yatan as I at first supposed, and makes Sadik an attribute to *ben*, i. e., "genuine son." Is it possible for the whole combination Sadik-Yatan-Melek to be a name? I know of no such combination in Phoenician names,

but judging from the Hebrew I should think it might be. This reading gets rid of the grandiloquent title "king of kings," so little appropriate to a king of Sidon at that period. The difficulty of the **נ** in the first line, which is unmistakable, still remains, and I cannot solve it, except by supposing it to be a mistake of the engraver and that it is to be ignored in reading. But that is hardly a satisfactory solution."

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I need not say that it is a source of especial gratification to me that the scholar who is best acquainted with the stones themselves has adopted my suggestion that the two small fragments in the Beirut museum belong to an inscription of Bod-‘Aštar, and, what is more, that they and the two large pieces originally belonged to one and the same block. In fact, this now seems to be established beyond all doubt. Professor Porter shows that the two small pieces, when put one above the other, match exactly, the lower part of the shafts of the letters **ד** and **ג** in **דגָּשָׁ** on the one fragment being plainly visible on the other, and the distance between the two lines thus formed corresponding to the space between the lines on the larger stone.

Professor Porter's information in regard to the condition of the large right-hand fragment is especially welcome. In one point he rectifies my reading of the photograph which was my sole (and of course often precarious) authority. The marks which I saw at the distance of two letters to the right of the **נ** in the first line, and supposed to belong to the head of a **נ**, prove to have been nothing more than recent scratches on the stone. However, as all the other restorations of the line, including Professor Porter's own, supply the same letter at this point (calling it **נ**), the correction does not necessarily affect my reading.

More important is the statement in regard to the letter just at the right of the **נ**, which Professor Porter and Consul Schröder both believe to have been a **מ**. A part of the horizontal cross-bar, it appears, is still distinctly visible, with traces of the red paint with which all the letters were originally colored. Regarding this horizontal mark, I hope to have later a still more definite statement; for the present, however, I must confess myself still unconvinced. Dr. Schröder had previously written to me in

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regard to this letter, saying that it "was probably a **נ**, the traces of the red colour of the cross line of this letter (*on the left of the upper part of the shaft*) being yet visible." The italics are my own. Unless the word "left" in this description is a mistake for "right," the cross line in question deserves to be viewed with strong suspicion. Is it customary in this inscription—or in its fellows—for the letter **נ** to have its cross-bar continued to the left of the main shaft? And again, if the horizontal mark is really thus situated, why may it not belong to a **ג**, the cross stroke of which would occupy exactly this position? Another consideration makes me hesitate still more. While one of the inscribed blocks from the temple of Ešmūn was in my possession, in Sidon, I found out to my dismay that the red paint which had filled the letters had also soaked into the adjacent surface of the stone. More or less recent abrasions often showed red, and I very soon learned by experience that I could not safely determine the original course of a doubtful letter by scratching for red paint, which could be found in places where it was quite certain that no letter had ever been. And finally—to repeat a fact to which I called attention in my former article—the lower part of the shaft of the letter in question is distinctly *curved to the left*, a peculiarity which belongs regularly only to the letters **נ** and **ג**. The resemblance which this particular shaft bears to that of the **ג** which almost immediately follows it in the same line is most striking. So far as my two photographs can show, they are absolutely identical in form, and distinctly unlike the shaft of the **נ** in the two places where it can be seen in this inscription. Hence it still seems to me—though I may eventually be proved wrong in this—that the reading of **נ** at this point is less probable, on the evidence of the traces actually remaining, than that of **ג**.

Again, it appears that at the space of about two letters to the right of this character there is the distinct remnant of the shaft of a letter which had the slant of **נ** or **ג**. Professor Porter supposes this to be a part of the first **נ** in the word **עתה**. I am unable to locate this shaft with any certainty on either of my photographs; this, however, is a matter of small concern, for Professor Porter pronounces the space between the two shafts at least sufficient for the letter **נ** and the rest (the right-hand portion) of the second **נ**; and with this type of the

Phoenician alphabet it is pretty certain that the space thus occupied could equally well contain the letters צָר. I therefore believe the stroke in question to be the shaft of the letter צ in the word מלך.

The restoration of the inscription proposed by Professor Porter does not seem to me to be in all respects a plausible one. In the first place, it does not give to Bod-‘Aštar the title “King of the Sidonians.” The name מלך צדנים at the end of the first line and the beginning of the second can only be referred, by any fair interpretation, to the name (Yaton-Melek) immediately preceding, just as the same words at the end of the second line are to be referred to Ešmun‘azar. Otherwise, the words מלך צדנים would certainly have been put between בן צדך and ברעשתרת. It is of course not absolutely necessary that the king should give himself this title here; still, in view of the uniform usage of all the other inscriptions of this series, as well as of the other extant inscriptions of this same dynasty, the omission would be a most remarkable one. The name of the king—whether Ešmun‘azar I., Tabnīt, Bod-‘Aštar, or Ešmun‘azar II.—is elsewhere *invariably* followed immediately<sup>1</sup> by מלך צדנים, whether the name of the father is given or not. The analogy of the other inscribed stones of this temple deserves to be given especial weight.

The letter נ in the first line is very much more difficult in Professor Porter’s restoration, it seems to me, than in my own. The ancient stone-cutters often made mistakes; frequently in the omission of letters, but oftener in the careless substitution of a character closely resembling the one intended. It would be easy to collect many examples of this kind, and no such blunder could be more easily accounted for than the accidental cutting of נ in place of ס. But the insertion of an *extra* letter, bearing no resemblance to those on either side of it, would be a very unusual thing.

The phrase בן צדך, “legitimate son” (*in the construct state*) is undoubtedly possible, but is it not also highly improbable? It has no parallel, so far as I know, unless in the obscure phrase

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<sup>1</sup> Except that in the Tabnīt inscription the title “Priest of ‘Aštar” is inserted at this point.

צָמַח צָדָק in the Narnaka inscription,<sup>1</sup> in a mutilated passage (line 11) whose restoration is extremely doubtful. צָדָק is hardly the word that we should expect to see used in this way (in the construct state, rather than 'בֶּן צָדָק לְ); still, the possibility of the idiom cannot fairly be questioned. The chief objection, after all, to supposing its use here is the obvious one, that the author of the inscription is Bod-‘Aštart himself. It would be a very strange thing for a king, in an inscription of this nature, to style himself “the legitimate son” of such and such a father.

Why the phrase מלָך מֶלֶכִים, “king of kings,” should cause any difficulty, I am at a loss to understand. The assumption that such titles were employed only when they were “appropriate” is utterly groundless. In all ages and parts of the world, kings and potentates have delighted in grandiloquent titles which corresponded to no reality whatever. This particular title had been very familiar to the Semitic world, and in all probability was not infrequently used as a mere ornament. It was applied, for example, to the Palmyrene prince Septimius Odainath, who is called in an inscription<sup>2</sup> מלָך מֶלֶכָא, “king of kings,” though he was not even king in his own land. We are, of course, not called upon to explain why Bod-‘Aštart omitted the name of his father in the other inscriptions of this series; but it is not impossible that he wished to compensate partially for the omission by inserting the complimentary title “king of kings” in this one case.

In regard to the space at the right of the letters on the upper one of the two small fragments, it may well be that Professor Porter is right in his contention that the word צָדָג originally formed the beginning of the second line. This conclusion, if true, would not materially affect my own reading, however, for it is very easy to suppose that the stone is broken off at the left hand as well as at the right. This, in fact, was my first impression on looking at the photograph. The whole might be restored as follows:

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<sup>1</sup> Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, p. 422; Cooke, *North Sem. Inscriptions*, p. 82 f.

<sup>2</sup> See Cooke, *North Sem. Inscriptions*, pp. 284, 290.

[בְּרוּשָׁתָרָת מֶלֶךְ צְדָנָם בֶּן צְדָקִיתָן מֶלֶךְ מֶלֶכִים מֶלֶךְ  
צְדָנָם בֶּן בֶּן מֶלֶךְ אַשְׁמָנוּאָר מֶלֶךְ צְדָנָם [אֶשׁ בֶּן]  
[אַיִת הַכְּתָה זֶ בֶּן לְאַלְיָ לְאַשְׁמָן שֶׁר קְדָשָׁ]

But every conjecture is precarious, in dealing with these most puzzling inscriptions. Professor Porter will doubtless see good reason for objecting to my interpretation as decidedly as I do to his. Lidzbarski closes his review of my *Semitic Epigraphical Notes*, in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, March 19, 1904, col. 166 ff., with the words: "Wer will nach diesem Fetzen sagen, dass das Ganze so, und nicht anders geheissen hat?" Not I, for one! But it does seem to me to be important, in the case of just these most difficult and fragmentary inscriptions, to hold as far as possible to what is known and obvious, rather than to make wide excursions into the region of conjecture; and for this reason I myself much prefer Professor Porter's interpretation to that of Lidzbarski. Inasmuch as this stone came from the temple of Ešmūn, and its inscription is for the most part identical with the others which have been found there, it is the safest method of procedure to depart as little as possible from the typical form which is already assured. It is better to assume (so long as nothing absolutely forbids the assumption) that this inscription is of about the same extent as the others, and therefore nearly complete as we have it, than to conjecture a reading which would oblige us to suppose that long passages are missing. It is more reasonable to start with the presumption that this stone, also, bore an inscription which celebrated the completion of this one building, and named Bod-‘Aštar̄ only as the builder, and to try to work out a restoration of the text on this basis, than to imagine that other buildings and builders are also designated, and that the second line contains mention of the king of Malaga. In comparison with such flights of fancy as these, the simple supposition that a stone-cutter or copyist made the every-day mistake of forgetting to put the cross-bar on his מ, thus leaving it נ, is tame and uninteresting indeed.

But we may still hope for further light from the temple itself, where Macridy Bey is now continuing his most important excavations with such thoroughness and skill. More inscriptions are certain to be uncovered, and it may be that among them will be found something that will elucidate one or another of the mysteries which now seem so hopeless.

I take this opportunity to add a few further comments suggested by the article in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, just mentioned. Lidzbarski has not everywhere rightly understood my interpretation of the typical inscription of this series. (1) I do not regard **מִשְׁלָחָת** as "in apposition to," though I admit that my translation would easily give this impression. It seems to me more likely that it is the participial predicate of a clause whose (pronominal) subject is suppressed. It will not do to put much weight on the "expected" order of words in the Phoenician sentence, for we know very little indeed about the usages of that language.

(2) "Belonging to Sidon," in the sense in which I understand the phrase, could not possibly be **אֲשֶׁר לְעָדָן**. I suppose the districts mentioned to be *parts of the city of Sidon* (not, "the property of the Sidonians"), and this idea might very naturally be expressed by **מִצְדָּן**.

(3) As for the phrase **וְצִרְנֵשֶׁר** (or **וְצִרְנֵשֶׁר**), I need not say again that I have no confidence in my suggested translation. Still, my attempt, as a mere guess, has its merits. It is the only attempt thus far, so far as I know, which yields a comprehensible meaning without doing violence to known rules of grammar. I myself feel more and more convinced that **שֶׁר** is the denominative verb, "walled." Might the whole clause possibly be translated: "[He it is] who built [buildings], and walled the city of Sidon"?

(4) Lidzbarski objects to my rendering of the last sentence of the inscription, that if the verb **כָּנֵס** were thus repeated it would need a suffix. But the omission of the pronominal suffix under just such circumstances is a commonplace of Hebrew grammar. There is not the least difficulty in supposing it here.

(5) The statement that the last clause in line 16 of the Ešmun-azar inscription is "exactly parallel" (genau parallel) to the corresponding clause in line 17 is not accurate. In the one case, the simple object-suffix is used; in the other, the name of the divinity is repeated. I have tried to suggest a plausible reason for this difference, and still think the argument a legitimate one.

*The Universality of Religion.*—By E. WASHBURN HOPKINS,  
Professor in Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

It is now a full century since the German scholar Meiners said that anyone who writes on the history of religion should first define religion. Sir John Lubbock has been repeatedly cited as authority for the statement that there are tribes and races which have no religion, but though Lubbock's theme was indeed the non-universality of religion, he yet says again and again that such and such a tribe has no religion in the proper sense of the word, or that it has only what might be called religion. In other words, the result of Lubbock's investigation was simply the proof that Lubbock's idea of religion was not universal. On the other hand, E. B. Tylor showed that religion as defined by himself was universal. It is not difficult to show that Lubbock's general statement, as usually interpreted, is incorrect. Only by making an artificial distinction between religion and superstition can we predicate the irreligion of any social group. Everywhere man has language and religion of some sort. Reduced to its lowest terms, religion still contains two elements, the credo and the action induced thereby, belief and cult. The belief may be of the vaguest, the cult no more than an act of fear based on belief; but, as there is no cult without belief (at least among savages), so there is no religious belief without a corresponding activity.<sup>1</sup> This activity, again, must be correlated with the supposed demands of the object of belief, and thus to be religious is, in short, to square human life with superhuman life, belief always being implied.

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<sup>1</sup> Otherwise the belief is not religious. For example, the intellectual conviction on the part of a member of tribe A that tribe B has gods becomes religious only when the member of tribe A is brought under the influence of those gods, and the individual reacts to the new stimulus. For the same reason, even within one social group, a divinity recognized as existent but not as active is really withdrawn from the religion of the believer. Thus the god Brahman forms no part of ordinary Hindu religion. The Hindus frankly say that Brahman's sole business was to create. Having created, his work is done and the believer takes no further interest in him, as he is powerless to affect man's weal. It is not denied that Brahman exists, but the Hindu feels that he can ignore this god and does so. He believes in him, but only as he believes in America.

But though I have here made superhuman synonymous with spiritual, as is usually done, there remains the question whether belief in the spiritual is really belief in the superhuman, and if not, whether a belief in spiritual beings ought to be held as equivalent to a belief in superhuman beings. In 1885, Gruppe promulgated the view that man was by nature irreligious, and that all religion, like printing, has spread out from one or two centers, the chief center being the Semitic cradle of all religions. Over a world hitherto destitute thereof, religious notions spread on the one hand, into India, the farther East, and eventually into America; and on the other, into Greece and Europe, originally starting from a drunken Semite. This Semite first of all got drunk and being drunk imagined himself a god. Intoxication was the first religious rite. Some ethnologists who believe that sub-Arctic man came without religion to the South have rather favored this idea, but in the light of what we know to-day in regard to savage religions, Gruppe's theory seems to be too crude for serious discussion. According to Lubbock, "If superstitious fear and the consciousness that other beings inhabit the world be religion, then there is no race without religion." But do superstitious fear and the belief in "other beings" imply a belief in the superhuman?

This is an important question, for it is this fear and belief which are often exploited as constituting an argument in favor of universal innate religious ideas, though there is of course no universality of religion in a theistic or deistic sense any more than in the Christian sense.<sup>1</sup>

To come now to the chief point of this paper: There are tribes credited with no other religious ideas than a belief in ghosts. This appears to be true of some of the South Americans, and practically the cult of many tribes in India is merely a

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<sup>1</sup> Andrew Lang and Sayce (in his recent *Gifford Lectures*) have both apparently reverted to Dr. Whateley's idea that savages have a demoralized culture, and they rather leave their readers to prove that man was not a primitive deist with a general tendency to progress downward. But the burden of proof rests with him who asserts that this is the probable explanation of Australian or Patagonian superstition. There is, as Professor Toy has said, no reason to assume that man's religion was usually in inverse proportion to his culture. That the lowest savages had first of all the lowest kind of religion, must be taken for granted as the general law, even though there are special historical cases of spiritual downfall from a former higher estate.

fear-service of ghosts, that is, not kobolds, gnomes, tree-spirits, but the spirits of departed human beings. The almost monotheistic belief attributed to some of the Wild Tribes of India resolves itself, on closer examination, into an apotheosis of the maternal ancestor with a more active sub-cult of deities that revert to the human stage. Now in so far as the religion of such a tribe is really based on ghosts, malevolent or benevolent, it is not superhuman, because every man is potentially a ghost and every god is only man in a different sphere of activity. There is, in other words, in mere ghost-belief no acknowledgement of anything which is not eventually human, no belief in a spiritual power other than that of man (and beast). The savage whose whole religious creed consists in the belief that his drowned grandfather, for example, is still alive and liable to help or annoy him, does not really believe in any power higher than man himself. He believes only in spirits as forms of human life (or animal life). We must then credit him with a belief in spiritual powers, but we may not imply that this belief involves also a belief in some power not man's, not human, a power not ourselves, "other beings" in the sense implied by this phase.<sup>1</sup> If the savage merely believes his father's ghost to be still alive and tries to feed it or drive it away, then he simply believes in his father, or, for the next generation, in himself, as existing after death. In and for itself, this is only a philosophy of existence, a religion, if one chooses to call it so, but with no implication of a superhuman power in the world.

On the other hand, there is some ground to question whether we can absolutely trust all the modern reports and studies in comparative religion. At least it is questionable whether reports, however honest, are unbiassed when the observer records all religious phenomena as "due to ghost-worship" without further discussion. I have in mind various little papers of much interest describing religious cults in some out-of-the-way place in India and the frequent assertion (without evidence to support it) that the cult originated in the worship of ghosts, though now it is directed to the sun or other objects of nature. Some of these assertions may be correct, for it is quite possible for a ghost to become sun, moon, or star, but it is slightly disconcerting to discover that as an illustration of the evolution of

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<sup>1</sup> It is curious that this expression of Lubbock reproduces exactly the Hindu notion of *itarajana*, "other beings," viz. demons, chief of whom, however, is the ghost Kubera.

ghost-worship the specimen offered is simply assumed to be such. For my own part, I think that most savages believe in many more powers than those of ghosts (for, to them, all is animate or animately endowed), but that these powers are really material, powers inseparable from matter as light from flame. The ghost-theory, moreover, is certainly true in so far as it asserts that in some cases the only much-respected deities are of human origin. The savage often shrinks from sundry little powers, while acknowledging as the sole great powers maternal or paternal ancestors. Ghosts and material force, that is force accepted as inherent in forms of matter, without any belief in superhuman and extra-material powers, may constitute the whole object of religious regard. In such a case it can scarcely be said that the savage has any notion of a spiritual power which in origin stands apart from man or matter. Even the disease-devil is in the first instance only the implicate of the disease or rather it is the disease itself, and hence is material and not spiritual. Religion then cannot be said to be universal if the term is used as connoting a belief in purely spiritual powers (of non-human and non-material origin). In its lowest form religion is an active acknowledgment of any power. For this reason the living chief or dangerous wild animal is recognized as an object of worship, and for this reason the dead chief and the whirlwind; but a spiritual power disconnected from man and matter is not recognized. The dead chief is only a sublimated man. In the last analysis the only form of religion which can be said to be universal is that based upon a power supposed to be inherent in or derived from the human or material world. The greater the distance from this world the less the power. Hence the abolition of worship of older ghosts or only a formal acknowledgment of their former prowess, while the real religion of the savage is averted from the creative but dim grandmother or great-great-grandfather ghosts and concerns itself with the powers that are more immediate. Hence, too, the indifference toward the most dreaded powers till they actually manifest themselves materially. Even in the modern half-civilized Punjab, for example, the shrine of the small-pox goddess is quite deserted until small-pox actually rages in the vicinity. There is no attempt even then to propitiate a spirit, only to get rid of an obnoxious material power regarded as present and potent in disease.

*Two Notes on the Rig Veda.*—By Professor E. WASHBURN  
HOPKINS.

1. The words *mádhumat*, *vivipre*, and *sárdhah* are interpreted as follows in Grassmann's and Ludwig's translations of RV. iii. 32. 4a, *tá in nv ásya mádhumad vivipra índrasya sárdho marúto yá ásan*:

Grassmann: Sie wirbelten hinein das Süss des Soma's,  
die Maruts, die des Indra Herrbann waren;

Ludwig: die haben eben des Indra madhuerzeugten trotz  
durch gesang erregt, die Marut, die da waren.

In view of a few other cases, it is not to be denied that *mádhumat* can be used as a noun in analogous cases (*máhumad vām síndhavo mitra duhre*, v. 69. 2). The verb is also used of the agitated sea (perhaps of soma), *yáto vipāná ejati*. viii. 6. 29, as S. would interpret here; but PW. is, I think, right in taking it as "rouse themselves." On the other hand, *índrasya sárdhah* can scarcely be other than the host of Maruts. It has occurred to me that in this passage *mádhumat* might be taken as a compound of *mádhu* and *mad* (compare the epic *madhumatta*, intoxicated), perhaps to be accented *madhumát*, the whole verse meaning: "The Maruts, the soma-mad host of Indra, bestirred themselves." Compare *somamád* in vii. 21. 2, *somamádo vidáthe dudhrávácaḥ* (so drunk that they speak incoherently).

2. The much discussed verse RV. x. 18. 14 has not been very satisfactorily explained. The text is

*pratīcīne mām áhanīsvāḥ parṇám ivá dadhuh  
pratīcīn jagrabhā vācam ásvam raśuniyā yathā.*

Roth, *Siebenzig Lieder*, renders as if the words referred to the future and takes 'voice' as equivalent to the breath of life:

Es kommt ein Tag, wo man mich selbst  
wie Federn aus dem Pfeile reisst.  
Von hinten halt die Stimme ich,  
wie man ein Ross mit Zügeln hemmt.

Thereto this note: Der Schlussvers ist angeflickt. Er enthält die Besprechung eines Schwerkranken. Die Stimme d. h. das Leben, welches entfliehen will, soll dadurch festgehalten werden.

Whitney and Lanman render *pratīcīne* and *pratīcīm* by the same word, which is a point ignored by Roth ("They've set me in a fitting day," "I've caught and used the fitting word").

Grassmann renders *pratīcīne* *āhani*, "am nächstvergangnen Tag," but in the following, "ich halte das Wort zurück." Ludwig: "bei des tages schwinden" and "die schwindende sprache habe ich erfasst."

The conditions required for a satisfactory translation are evident. The same word must have the same meaning in both half-verses, and this meaning must be appropriate to both similes. Both these conditions are neglected in the translation given by Roth (Geldner and Kaegi); Whitney and Lanman ignore in "fitting" the force of the similes; Grassmann and Ludwig ignore the first simile as applicable to *pratīcīne*.

If we begin with the simile, the interpretation becomes clear. There is only one word that can complement "as one (holds) a horse with a rein" and "I hold the word." This is the word "back." "I hold back (restrain) the word, as one (holds back) a horse with the rein." But this "back" must also apply to the preceding simile, since it is practically the same word. In this the figure is that of the feathers set somewhere on the shaft of the arrow, naturally not toward the front but at the rear or back. So finally we come to the opening clause, which thus will mean "on a rear or back day" or, as we might say, the poet is a "latter-day saint." The same word or its equivalent is used to express various back, hind, or rear notions, as illustrated in PW.: "kicks back" is *pratyañ padā hinasti* (AB. v. 1. 9); "back-hair" is expressed by the same word (SB. x. 2. 1. 9).

That in time-notions this leads not only to the meaning "past" time, as time behind us, but also to the sense "future" (as in English "after-time"), is natural; but it is not necessary that "back" should mean anything more than "late" time. Many days have gone before, the poet's life has come after these. External criticism shows that the writer has added a verse to an old hymn. He recognizes the difference in time between the *pūrve*, those who came "before," and himself, who is behind or

“set on a back day,” as the feather is set at the back of the arrow. Speech of the younger is, as often, recognized as inferior. So he holds back his speech as one holds back a horse with the rein. There is, as far as I see, no other interpretation which will suit both verbs and at the same time elucidate the two similes.

In this same hymn, comparative religious notions make it probable that in the second stanza, *mṛtyóḥ padám yopáyantah* does not refer to a foot-clog, but means “destroying the track of death” by means of the wall built between death and the living. Also in the third stanza, “we have gone on to the dance and the laugh” refers in all probability to the formal dance and mirth after the funeral. All analogy would lead to this conclusion and in India the mourners are especially told, even in much later literature, to end their grief and turn to pleasure after the last sad ceremony.

*A few notes on the First Half of the Twenty-fifth volume of  
JAOS.*—Letter to the Corresponding Secretary from Dr.  
GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

RATHFARNHAM, CAMBERLEY, SURREY, July 14, 1904.

*My dear Professor Hopkins*—Bhavabhūti Bibliography, p. 190. My old teacher, Pandit Chhōtū Rām Trivēdī, brought out an edition of the Mālatīmādhava in the 'seventies.' It was printed in India. I am sorry to say that I cannot find my copy so as to give the necessary details. But this may be a clue. The edition had a commentary, I think by the Pandit himself.

Linguistic archaisms of the Rāmāyaṇa. Footnote, p. 90. Chhōtū Rām used to insist that *ārṣa* was a word to be translated literally in connexion with these epic irregularities. They were instances of the language of the *r̥sis*. Who the *r̥sis* were I could never exactly get from him, but the general impression I got was that *ārṣa* often reproduced the Sanskrit peculiarities of Oudh. This is of special interest in regard to the Rāmāyaṇa, which is essentially an Oudh epic (I refer to its subject and popularity). He always carefully distinguished between *ārṣa* and *chāndasa*.

Sanskrit *l*=Avesta *d*, p. 175. Professor Jackson is of course aware that the change of *d* to *l* is common in the Ghalchah languages as well as in Afghān. It is quite frequent in Munjānī. What I want to tell you is that the change is also common in the Piśāca languages of the Northwest Frontier, the Kāfir dialects, Paśai, Khowār, Šinā, and others. Thus, Veron Kāfir, *let-em*, a tooth: *lust*, a hand: Bashgali Kāfir, *dits*; Veron, *luzu-kh*; Khowār, *ligi-ni*, a tongue: Prs. *mādar*; Šinā, *mālī*, a mother: Veron *luštū* (cf. Armenian, *dustr*), a daughter; Avesta *dā*; Veron *le*, do: Avesta *fra-dā* (Munjānī, *lia*, he gave); Veron, *aphle* or *polo*, give: Šighnī, *dhed*; Gārwī (a minor Piś. dialect) *thlu*, give: Skr. *dr̥s*; Pashai, *laš*; Gārwī, *lih*, see: Veron, *lue*, two.

With regard to Šinā *mālī*, mother, referred to above, I may mention a curious fact. Šinā has no word for 'father' corre-

sponding to *pitar-*, although it has *mālī*. To supply a word for 'father' it has made a secondary masculine, *mālō*, i. e. 'a male mother.' Kāsmīrī and the languages of the Indus Kōhistān which are Šinā at base, have also this curious pair. I have not met it anywhere else. I wonder if Eranian scholars know of any parallel case. I am far from my books and forget if Šinā society was ever matriarchal, but the matriarchal system is in full force in Tibet, etc., immediately to the east of the Šinā country. This may be the origin of the linguistic phenomenon.<sup>1</sup>

I am preparing a paper on the phonology of these Piśāca languages. They are most interesting. They closely agree with Hēmacandra's Cūlikā-Pāśācikam and explain several irregularities of Aśoka's Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, and of place names in Northern India as recorded by the Greeks. Cf. the retention of the *t* in Peukalaotis. They have retained unchanged (owing to this retention of unprotected surds) many Vedic words. Compare Vedic *kṛkavāku*; Kalāśā Kāfir, *kakawāk*, a cock.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

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<sup>1</sup> [Biddulph's *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh* does not speak of a matriarchal form of society among these tribes. Possibly where, as in Torwalar *bāp* (the only word for father), the "address-form" was employed to the practical exclusion of the regular word, the phenomenon is merely linguistic. So *tut* in Chitral Khowār appears to be the only word for father, as *nun* is the only word for mother, although both are evidently address-forms (Vedic *tatú*, *nanā*). In Šinā, by the side of *mālō* appears *bābo* as "address-form" and this in the same way may have ousted the regular word for father before resort was had to the "male mother" as a designation for father.—ED.]

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,  
AT ITS  
MEETING IN WASHINGTON, D. C.,  
1904.

The annual meeting of the Society was held in Washington, D. C., on Thursday and Friday of Easter week, April 7th and 8th, in the lecture room of the United States National Museum.

The following members were present at one or more of the sessions:

Adler	Ember	Johnston	Rosenau
Allen, Miss	Foote	Lanman	Sanders
Arnold, W. R.	Gigot	Lilley	Scott
Barret	Gilman	Lyon	Seiple
Blake	Gottheil	MacKinlay	Solyom
Bloomfield	Gray	Moore, G. F.	Torrey
Bolling	Haas	Moore, Mrs.	Toy
Brown, F.	Haupt	Morris, Miss	Ward, Miss
Casanowicz	Hopkins, E. W.	Müller	Ward, W. H.
Currier	Hyvernat	Oertel	Wolfenson
Curtiss	Jackson	Quackenbos	Yohannan
Delbrück	Jastrow	Ramsay	[Total, 47.]

The first session of the Society began on Thursday morning at eleven o'clock, with the President, Daniel Coit Gilman, in the chair.

The reading of the minutes of the last annual meeting, held in Baltimore, April 16th, 17th, and 18th, was dispensed with, inasmuch as they had already been printed and distributed.

The report of the Committee of Arrangements was presented by Dr. Cyrus Adler, in the form of a printed programme.

The succeeding sessions of the Society were appointed for Thursday afternoon at half-past two o'clock, Friday morning at half-past nine, and Friday afternoon at three. The session on

Friday afternoon was set apart for the reading of papers in the Section for the Historical Study of Religions.

President Gilman invited the members of the Society to a luncheon on Friday at one o'clock in the Museum. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

Arrangements were made for a dinner at the Shoreham Hotel on Thursday at half-past seven; and for an informal gathering on Friday evening at the Cosmos Club, whose hospitality was extended to the members during the meeting.

The Corresponding Secretary, Professor Hopkins, reported as follows: Letters were received from those elected to membership at the last Meeting, all of whom accepted. The several members of the Society appointed to constitute a committee, which should make to the President of the United States such representations as they might think proper concerning the survey of the Philippine Islands, expressed themselves by letter to the Secretary as pleased with the honor conferred and willing to serve on the committee.

There were added to the exchange-list during the year, the following: The Polynesian Society of New Zealand; The American School at Jerusalem; The Library of the University of Tübingen; The Leipziger Semitistische Studien.

Some correspondence on matters connected with a paper (previously published) of the Secretary has already been incorporated into the last half-volume of the Journal (xxiv, p. 392).

A society calling itself the "Oriental Society" was investigated by the Secretary with the help of Dr. Gilman and Professor Gottheil. For the sake of our Society and of the general public, it seems proper to state that this pseudo *Oriental Society*, which calls itself also the "*Oriental Society of London*," seems to be identical with the so-called *Renaissance Society* and to be a mere book-publishing concern. It is, of course, in no wise connected with the American Oriental Society. Letters sent out by the firm are signed "The Oriental Society, F. Cooper, Sec'y."

Letters were received by the Secretary of the Society relative to representation at the International Congress of the Universal Exposition at St. Louis, but the Society could take no action before Easter week and the matter was eventually dropped.

In the name of the Society a half-volume of the Journal was sent to Dr. Vogel, who collaborated with Dr. Stratton in preparing the latter's article on a Gandhāra statue, and a reply was received acknowledging the same. A letter was also received from Dr. Abbott of Bombay in regard to his discovery of an ancient Sanskrit script in Kashmir in June of last year.

At the close of his report the Secretary called the attention of the Society to the fact that Geheimrath von Boehltingk had joined the Society on March 14, 1804, just sixty years before, and suggested that the Society send a fitting greeting to Dr. Boehltingk. This suggestion was adopted by the Society and

the message was sent, as it was not known that Dr. Boehltingk had died only a few days previously. This message was received by the widow of Dr. Boehltingk, who at once acknowledged it and returned thanks to the Society for the message. In the following list of those deceased since the last meeting, the name of Dr. Boehltingk, who died April 1, 1904, is added to those actually presented at the Meeting.

The death of the following members of the Society was reported :

**HONORARY MEMBER.**

Geheimrath Otto von Boehltingk.

**CORPORATE MEMBERS.**

Rev. Dr. Marcus Jastrow.

John M. Trout.

Rev. Dr. Henry Clay Trumbull.

Dr. Thomas Wilson.

**CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.**

Rev. Dr. Henry Blodget.

Professor Albert L. Long.

Rev. Robert S. MacClay.

The report of the Treasurer, Professor F. W. Williams, was presented through Professor Hopkins, and is as follows :

**RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS BY THE TREASURER OF THE  
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR  
ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1903.**

**RECEIPTS, 1903.**

Balance from old account, Dec. 31, 1902 .....	\$ 659.12
Dues (194) for 1903 .....	\$969.85
Dues (48) for other years .....	239.85
Dues (27) for H. S. R. Sect. .....	54.00
	----- \$1,263.70
Sales of publications .....	182.88
Withdrawn from Savings Banks .....	800.00
State National Bank Dividends .....	\$106.57
Suffolk Savings Bank Interest .....	9.71
Prov. Inst. for Savings " .....	49.92
Conn. Savings Bank " .....	19.57
National Savings Bank " .....	19.56
	----- 205.88
Gross receipts for the year .....	2,451.36
	-----
	\$8,110.48

EXPENDITURES, 1903.

T., M. & T. Co., printing vol. XXIII, 2d pt.....	\$839.08
"        "    vol. XXIV, 1st pt.....	834.60
"    sundry printing, etc.....	132.18
"    10 reams paper .....	42.00
"    photo-engraving, etc.....	65.42
Subvention to Orient. Bibliographie (400 M.).....	95.91
Honorariums to editors (2 years).....	300.00
Am. Express Co., express and storage .....	2.85
Gross expenditures for year.....	----- \$2,311.54
Balance to general account.....	798.94
	-----
	\$3,110.48

STATEMENT.

	1902	1903
I. Bradley Type Fund .....	\$2,014.06	\$2,065.88
II. Cotheal Publication Fund .....	1,000.00	1,000.00
III. State National Bank Shares .....	1,950.00	1,950.00
IV. Life Membership Fund .....	225.00	225.00
V. Connecticut Savings Bank deposit .....	500.00	100.00
VI. National Savings Bank deposit .....	500.00	100.00
VII. Accrued Interest in II.....	414.51	464.43
VIII. "    "    IV .....	50.24	59.95
IX. "    "    V .....	54.81	74.38
X. "    "    VI .....	54.80	74.36
XI. Cash on hand .....	659.12	798.94
	-----	-----
	\$7,422.54	\$6,912.44

The report of the Auditing Committee, Professors Oertel and Sanders, was presented through Professor Hopkins, as follows:

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

We hereby certify that we have examined the account book of the Treasurer of this Society and have found the same correct, and that the foregoing account is in conformity therewith. We have also compared the entries in the cash book with the vouchers and bank and pass books and have found all correct.

HANNS OERTEL,  
FRANK K. SANDERS, *Auditors.*

NEW HAVEN, CONN., March 30, 1904.

The report of the Librarian, Mr. Addison Van Name, was presented through Professor Hopkins, and is as follows:

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

The accessions to the Society's library by exchange and gift for the past year number 88 volumes, 217 parts of volumes, and 21 pamphlets.

The number of titles of printed works is now 5386, of manuscripts 188.

Respectfully submitted,  
ADDISON VAN NAME.

April, 1904.

The report of the Editors of the Journal was presented by Professor Torrey, and is as follows:

The Editors for the current year have brought out two parts of the Journal. The First Half and Second Half of vol. **xxiv**, containing 454 pages, including the Proceedings of the last Meeting, the List of Members, and Notices, or 426 pages without the last two additions.

The fonts of Coptic and Ethiopic type, mentioned in the last report of the Editors, are already being put to use. The Ethiopic type will be used for the first time in an article in the First Half of vol. **xxv**.

In accordance with the permission given by the Directors last year, the Journal has begun to use the "accented s" in Indo-European transliterations.

The report was accepted.

On motion of Professor Lanman, the thanks of the Society were tendered to the Editors, Professors Hopkins and Torrey, for their labors.

The following persons, recommended by the Directors, were duly elected Corporate Members of the Society:

Miss May Allen, Frederick, Md.  
Mr. F. Sturges Allen, Springfield, Mass.  
Mr. Kanichi Asakawa, Dartmouth College.  
Mr. A. B. Bustany, Washington, D. C.  
Mr. O. T. Crosby, Washington, D. C.  
Rev. C. W. Currier, Washington, D. C.  
Prof. Israel Friedländer, New York.  
Rev. Edward Hayes, Baltimore, Md.  
Lieut. W. E. W. MacKinlay, Washington, D. C.  
Mr. Justin H. Moore, New York.  
Mrs. Ethel Watts Mumford, New York.  
Prof. Paul Oltramare, Geneva, Switzerland.  
Prof. S. Schechter, New York.  
Mr. Clarke S. Sherman, New York.  
Mr. George Payn Quackenbos, New York.  
Mr. Louis B. Wolfenson, Baltimore, Md.  
Mr. K. Yamasaki, New Haven, Conn.

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The President appointed Dr. C. P. G. Scott, Professor M. Jastrow, Jr., and Professor A. V. W. Jackson, a committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, to report on Saturday morning.

At 12 o'clock the reading of communications was begun.

The first paper was read by Dr. F. R. Blake, of Johns Hopkins University, on Differences between Tagálog and Bisáyan.

Professor Berthold Delbrück, an Honorary member of the Society, being in attendance on the meeting, was presented to the Society by the President.

Dr. T. C. Foote, of Johns Hopkins University, read a communication on The fall of Nineveh.

Professor Haupt, of Johns Hopkins University, on The introductory lines of the cuneiform account of the Deluge.

Remarks were made by Professor Jastrow.

Professor Hopkins, of Yale University, The universality of religion.

Remarks were made by Professor Bloomfield.

At one o'clock the Society took a recess till half-past two.

The Society reassembled at half-past two.

The following communications were presented:

Professor Jackson, of Columbia University, Studies in the Sanskrit drama *Priyadarśikā*.

Professor Johnston, of Johns Hopkins University, Šamaśšumukin, the oldest son of Esarhaddon.

Professor Lyon, of Harvard University, Assyriological Notes.

Remarks were made by Professors Bloomfield, Haupt, and Lyon.

Lieutenant MacKinlay, of Washington, D. C., Some minor languages of Luzon.

Remarks were made by Professor Haupt.

Professor G. F. Moore, of Harvard University, The text of C. D. Ginsburg's edition of the Hebrew Bible.

Professor F. P. Ramsay, of Huntersville, N. C., Some critical terms.

Mr. W. G. Seiple, of Johns Hopkins University, Polysyllabic roots in Tagálog.

Remarks were made by Professor Bloomfield.

Professor Torrey, of Yale University, *Yāvān* and 'Ελλάς as designations of Alexander's world empire.

Remarks were made by Professor Haupt.

Mr. L. B. Wolfenson, of Johns Hopkins University, Philippine alphabets.

Remarks were made by Lieut. MacKinlay and Professor Laman.

Dr. A. Yohannan, of Columbia University, A manuscript of devotional works of the Mahdi of the Soudan.

Dr. F. R. Blake, of Johns Hopkins University, Intransitive Verbs in Aramaic.

At half-past five the Society adjourned to meet on Friday morning at half-past nine.

The Society met in the same place on Friday morning at half-past nine, with President Gilman in the chair. The reading of communications was resumed.

Dr. Aaron Ember, of Johns Hopkins University, read upon The ampliative plural in Assyrian.

Remarks were made by Professors Ramsay and Haupt.

Dr. Louis H. Gray, of Newark, N. J., The *Bhartrharinirveda* of Harihara, now first translated from the Sanskrit.

Professor Haupt, of Johns Hopkins University, The prototype of the Magnificat.

Professor Lanman, of Harvard University, Report on the progress of the Harvard Oriental Series.

Professor Lyon, of Harvard University, The Harvard Semitic Museum.

Professor G. F. Moore, of Harvard University, The Greek name of the last native king of Babylon.

Professor F. P. Ramsay, of Huntersville, N. C., Notes on the *Heptaemeron*.

Mr. G. W. Seiple, of Johns Hopkins University, The Eighty-seventh Psalm.

Professor Torrey, of Yale University, On a very old manuscript of Zamahšari's *Mufassal*.

Mr. L. B. Wolfenson, of Johns Hopkins University, Grecisms in Ecclesiastes.

Dr. A. Yohannan, of Columbia University, A Persian manuscript called "Ajāyib ul-Buldān, The Wonders of the World."

Dr. Louis H. Gray, of Newark, N. J., Kai Lohrasp, and Nebuchadrezzar.

Dr. T. C. Foote, of Johns Hopkins University, The Cherubim and the Ark. Remarks were made by Professor Lyon, Dr. Ward, and Professor Toy.

On motion, the time for the election of officers and other business was fixed for this afternoon at five o'clock.

Professor Paul Haupt spoke on the Hebrew text of the Book of Kings.

Professor Jackson, of Columbia University, spoke on a journey through Persia and Central Asia in 1845.

At half-past twelve the Society took a recess till three o'clock.

The Society was entertained by President Gilman at luncheon in the National Museum. The Ambassador of France and the Ministers of China and Japan were present at the luncheon.

After the luncheon, Dr. Walcott, of the Carnegie Institution, gave the members of the Society some account of explorations recently undertaken by the Carnegie Institution in Central Asia, under the direction of Professor Raphael Pumpelly; in China, under Dr. Willis, and in Egypt, under Professor W. Max Müller. Professor Müller, being present, spoke briefly of the work on which he was about to enter.

Professor Jackson exhibited several photographs gathered by him in the course of a recent journey in Persia. Mr. Crosley of Washington, who had recently returned from a journey in Tibet, told of the finding of some very ancient fragments of paper manuscripts, in Sanskrit and other languages, most of

which were obtained by Professor Stein of the Indian Educational Service. The members of the Society then returned to the lecture room and Mr. D. G. Fairchild, of the Department of Agriculture, gave a description, illustrated by the stereopticon, of a journey from Bombay to Bagdad.

The session of Friday afternoon, beginning at three o'clock, was set apart for the reading of papers on the Historical Study of Religions ; Professor C. R. Lanman, a Vice President of the Society, occupied the chair.

A communication by Mr. H. M. Huxley, of Worcester, Mass., on the Physical Anthropology of the modern Samaritans, was read by title, and a series of photographs of Samaritans was exhibited.

Professor Curtiss, of the Chicago Theological Seminary, read a paper on Survivals of personality surrendered to Deity among Syrians and Arabs. Remarks were made by Professors Toy and Lyon.

Professor Haupt, of Johns Hopkins University, read upon the Poetic form of the Book of Ecclesiastes.

Professor Jastrow, of the University of Pennsylvania, on Bel, Ninib, and Marduk. Remarks were made by Professor Lyon.

President Gilman took the chair.

Miss Morris, of Philadelphia, read on The influence of war and of agriculture upon the religion of the Kayans and Sea Dyaks of Borneo.

Professor Toy, of Harvard University, Recent discussions of Totemism. Remarks were made by Professor Hopkins.

Dr. William Hayes Ward, of New York, Nergal in Chaldean Art.

The Directors reported that they had reappointed as Editors of the Journal, Professors Hopkins and Torrey. Also that the next meeting of the Society would be held in Springfield, Mass., April 27th, 28th, and 29th, 1905. Dr. P. S. Moxom, of Springfield, and Professor H. P. Smith, of Amherst, were appointed a Committee of Arrangements for that meeting.

The committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year, reported through Dr. C. P. G. Scott. The report was accepted, and the following officers were unanimously elected :

*President*—President Daniel Coit Gilman, of Baltimore, Md.

*Vice-Presidents*—Dr. William Hayes Ward, of New York ; Professor Crawford H. Toy, of Cambridge ; Professor Charles R. Lanman, of Cambridge.

*Corresponding Secretary*—Professor E. Washburn Hopkins, of New Haven.

*Recording Secretary*—Professor George F. Moore, of Cambridge.

*Secretary of the Section for Religions*—Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., of Philadelphia.

*Treasurer*—Professor Frederick Wells Williams, of New Haven.

*Librarian*—Mr. Addison Van Name, of New Haven.

*Directors*—The officers above named; and President William R. Harper, of Chicago; Professors Richard Gottheil and A. V. Williams Jackson, of New York; Professors Maurice Bloomfield and Paul Haupt, of Baltimore; Professor Henry Hyvernat, of Washington; Professor Charles C. Torrey, of New Haven.

President Gilman, for the committee appointed at the last annual meeting in reference to the proposed survey of the Philippine Islands (see *Journal* vol. 25, p. 436), reported progress, and the committee was continued.

On the recommendation of the Directors, the following addition to By-Law 8 was unanimously adopted:

Candidates for membership who have been elected by the Society shall qualify as members by payment of the first annual assessment within one month from the time when notice of such election is mailed to them. A failure so to qualify shall be construed as a refusal to become a member.

Professors Oertel and Sanders, of Yale University, were appointed a committee to audit the Treasurer's accounts for next year.

The following resolution of thanks was unanimously adopted:

The American Oriental Society desire to express their sincere thanks to Dr. Langley, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and to Professor Rathbun, Assistant Secretary of the United States Museum, for the use of rooms; to the Cosmos Club, for their hospitality; to the President of the Society, for generous entertainment; to the Rector of the Catholic University of America, for kind attentions; and to the committee of arrangements, for their efficient services.

At a quarter before six o'clock the Society adjourned, to meet in Springfield, Mass., April 27th, 1905.

The following papers were presented by title: Professor Barton, The real nature of the Levitical cities in Israel: Notes on the topography of Southern Palestine; Rev. C. A. Blomgren, A study in Obadiah; Professor Bloomfield, Rhetoric and the Veda (a paper written by Hirananda Mularaga, of the Oriental College, Lahore, India); Dr. Gray, The oldest Iranian translation of the Bible; Miss L. H. R. Grieve, Some folk-stories of Ramdas, the last of the sages; Professor Hopkins, Vedic Notes; Professor Johnston, Erman's Egyptian Grammar; Dr. Kohut, The influence of Jewish traditions upon American poets: Eastern prototypes of Sherlock Holmes; Professor Laman, The division of words in Sanskrit texts; Mr. McPherson, The nuptials of Alexandar Balas; Professor Prince, The vocabulary of Sumerian; Mr. Schuyler, A bibliography of the plays of Bhavabhūti and Kṛṣṇamīśra; Mr. Wrightson, The metre of the Twenty-third Psalm.



LIST OF MEMBERS.

REVISED, DECEMBER, 1904.

The number placed after the address indicates the year of election.

I. HONORARY MEMBERS.

M. AUGUSTE BARTH, Membre de l'Institut, Paris, France. (Rue Garancière, 10.) 1898.

Prof. RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, Dekkan Coll., Poona, India. 1887.

JAMES BURGESS, LL.D., 22 Seton Place, Edinburgh, Scotland. 1899.

Dr. ANTONIO MARIA CERIANI, Ambrosian Library, Milan, Italy. 1890.

Prof. BERTHOLD DELBRUECK, University of Jena, Germany. 1878.

Prof. FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, University of Berlin, Germany. 1898.

Prof. Dr. ADOLF ERMAN, Steglitz, Friedrich Str. 10/11, Berlin, Germany, 1903.

Prof. RICHARD GARBE, University of Tübingen, Germany. (Biesinger Str. 14.) 1902.

Prof. M. J. DE GOEJE, University of Leyden, Netherlands. (Vliet 15.) 1898.

Prof. IGNAZIO GUIDI, University of Rome, Italy. (Via Botteghe Oscure, 24.) 1898.

Prof. HENDRIK KERN, University of Leyden, Netherlands. 1898.

Prof. FRANZ KIELHORN, University of Göttingen, Germany. (Hainholzweg 21.) 1887.

Prof. ALFRED LUDWIG, University of Prague, Bohemia. (Celakowsky Str. 15.) 1898.

Prof. GASTON MASPERO, Collège de France, Paris, France. (Avenue de l'Observatoire, 24.) 1898.

Prof. THEODOR NOELDEKE, University of Strassburg, Germany. (Kalbengasse 16.) 1878.

Prof. JULES OPPERT, Collège de France, Paris, France. (Rue de Sfax, 2.) 1898.

Prof. RICHARD PISCHEL, University of Berlin, Germany. (Passauer Str. 28, W. 50.) 1902.

Prof. EDUARD SACHAU, University of Berlin, Germany. (Wormser Str. 12, W.) 1887.

Prof. ARCHIBALD H. SAYCE, University of Oxford, England. 1898.

Prof. EBERHARD SCHRADER, University of Berlin, Germany. (Kronprinzen-Ufer 20, N. W.) 1890.

Prof. FRIEDRICH VON SPIEGEL, Munich, Germany. (Königin Str. 49.). Corresponding Member, 1863; Hon., 1869.

Prof. JULIUS WELLHAUSEN, University of Göttingen, Germany. (Weber Str. 18a.) 1902.

EDWARD W. WEST, c.o. A. A. West, Clyst House, Theydon Bois (Essex), England. 1899.

Prof. ERNST WINDISCH, University of Leipzig, Germany. (Universitätsstr. 15.) 1890. [Total, 24.]

## II. CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Names marked with † are those of life members.

Rev. JUSTIN EDWARDS ABBOTT, D.D., Tardeo, Bombay, India. 1900.  
 Dr. CYRUS ADLER, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1884.  
 F. STURGES ALLEN, 246 Central St., Springfield, Mass. 1904.  
 Miss MAY ALICE ALLEN (Woman's College), Frederick, Md. 1904.  
 Prof. EDWARD V. ARNOLD, University College of North Wales, Bangor, Great Britain. 1896.  
 Mrs. EMMA J. ARNOLD, 275 Washington St., Providence, R. I. 1894.  
 Prof. WILLIAM R. ARNOLD, Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. 1893.  
 Dr. KANICHI ASAKAWA (Dartmouth College), Hanover, N. H. 1904.  
 Rev. EDWARD E. ATKINSON, St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H. 1894.  
 Hon. SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL.D., 44 Wall St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.  
 LeRoy CARR BARRET, Box 86, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1903.  
 Prof. GEORGE A. BARTON, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1888.  
 Prof. L. W. BATTEN, 232 East 11th St., New York. 1894.  
 Rev. HARLAN P. BEACH, Montclair, N. J. 1898.  
 Prof. WILLIS J. BEECHER, D.D., Theological Seminary, Auburn, N. Y. 1900.  
 Rev. JOSEPH F. BERG, Ph.D., Port Richmond, S. I., N. Y. 1893.  
 Dr. WILLIAM STURGIS BIGELOW, 60 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.  
 Prof. JOHN BINNEY, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1887.  
 FRANK RINGGOLD BLAKE (Johns Hopkins Univ.), Dixon Park, Mt. Washington, Md. 1900.  
 Rev. DAVID BLAUSTEIN, Educational Alliance, 197 East Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1891.  
 FREDERICK J. BLISS, Ph.D., Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, Syria. 1898.  
 Rev. CARL AUGUST BLOMGREN, Ph.D., The Lutheran Seminary, Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, Pa. 1900.  
 Prof. MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1881.  
 Prof. CHARLES W. E. BODY (General Theological Seminary), 9 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1897.  
 Dr. ALFRED BOISSIER, Le Rivage près Chambéry, Switzerland. 1897.  
 Dr. GEORGE M. BOLLING, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D. C. 1896.  
 Prof. JAMES HENRY BREASTED, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1891.  
 Prof. CHAS. A. BRIGGS (Union Theological Seminary), 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1879.  
 Dr. PAUL BRÖNNLE, 2 Lancaster Gardens, West Ealing, London, W., England. 1903.  
 Miss SARAH W. BROOKS, Lexington, Mass. 1896.  
 Prof. FRANCIS BROWN (Union Theological Seminary), 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1881.  
 Prof. CARL DARLING BUCK, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1892.  
 Prof. HENRY F. BURTON, Rochester University, Rochester, N. Y. 1881.  
 A. B. BUSTANY, 1309 Fourteenth St., N. Y., Washington, D. C. 1904.  
 Rev. JOHN CAMPBELL, Kingsbridge, New York, N. Y. 1896.

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Rev. SIMON J. CARR, Ph.D., 1527 Church St., Frankford, Philadelphia, Pa. 1892.

Dr. FRANKLIN CARTER, 324 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn. 1873.

Dr. PAUL CARUS, La Salle, Illinois. 1897.

Dr. I. M. CASANOWICZ, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1893.

Miss EVA CHANNING, Exeter Chambers, Boston, Mass. 1883.

Dr. FRANK DYER CHESTER, United States Consulate, Buda-Pesth, Hungary. 1891.

CLARENCE H. CLARK, Locust and 42d Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1897.

Rev. HENRY N. COBB, 25 East 22d St., New York, N. Y. 1875.

WM. EMMETTE COLEMAN, 224 Phelan Building, San Francisco, Cal. 1885.

†GEORGE WETMORE COLLES, 62 Fort Greene Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1882.

Prof. HERMANN COLLITZ, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1887.

Miss ELIZABETH S. COLTON, Easthampton, Mass. 1896.

WILLIAM MERRIAM CRANE, 16 East 37th St., New York, N. Y. 1902.

OSCAR T. CROSBY, Cosmos Club, Washington, D. C. 1904.

STEWART CULIN, Brooklyn Institute Museum, Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1888.

Rev. CHARLES W. CURRIER, St. Mary's Church, Washington, D. C. 1904.

Prof. JOHN D. DAVIS, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1888.

LEE MALTBIE DEAN, Westbrook, Maine. 1897.

ALFRED L. P. DENNIS, 72 Federal St., Brunswick, Me. 1900.

JAMES T. DENNIS, University Club, Baltimore, Md. 1900.

Dr. P. L. ARMAND DE POTTER, Villa Grand Bois, Cannes (A. M.), France. 1880.

Rev. D. STUART DODGE, 99 John St., New York, N. Y. 1867.

Prof. JAMES F. DRISCOLL, St. Austin's College, Washington, D. C. 1897.

SAMUEL F. DUNLAP, 18 West 22d St., New York, N. Y. 1854.

Dr. HARRY WESTBROOK DUNNING, 5 Kilsyth Road, Brookline, Mass. 1894.

WILBERFORCE EAMES, Lenox Library, 890 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1897.

Prof. FREDERICK C. EISELEN, Garrett Biblical Inst., Evanston, Ill. 1901.

Mrs. WILLIAM M. ELICOTT, 106 Ridgewood Road, Roland Park, Md. 1897.

Prof. LEVI H. ELWELL, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1883.

AARON EEBER, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1902.

Rev. ARTHUR H. EWING, The Jumna Mission House, Allahabad, N. W. P., India. 1900.

Rev. Prof. C. P. FAGNANI, 772 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1901.

MARSHALL BRYANT FANNING, 1079 Boylston St., Boston, Mass. 1897.

Prof. EDWIN WHITFIELD FAY, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. 1888.

ERNEST F. FENOLLOSA, 159 Church St., Mobile, Ala. 1894.

Prof. HENRY FERGUSON, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1876.

Dr. JOHN C. FERGUSON, 121a Bubbling Well Road, Shanghai, China. 1900.

†Lady CAROLINE DE FILIPPI FITZ GERALD, 167 Via Urbana, Rome, Italy. 1886.

Rev. THEODORE C. FOOTE, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1900.

†FRANK B. FORBES, 65 Marlborough St., Boston, Mass. 1864.

Rev. JAS. EVERETT FRAME (Union Theological Sem.), 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1892.

Prof. ISRAEL FRIEDELAENDER (The Jewish Theological Seminary), 371 West 116th St., New York, N. Y. 1904.

Dr. WILLIAM H. FURNESS, 3d, Wallingford, Delaware Co., Penn. 1897.

ROBERT GARRETT, Continental Building, Baltimore, Md. 1903.

Rev. FRANCIS E. GIGOT, St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, Md. 1901.

Prof. BASIL LANNEAU GILDERSLEEVE, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1858.

Dr. DANIEL COIT GILMAN, Carnegie Institution, Bond Building, Washington, D. C. 1857.

LOUIS GINZBERG, Ph.D., 60 West 115th St., New York, N. Y. 1900.

Rev. A. KINGSLEY GLOVER, Auburn, Cal. 1901.

Prof. WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN (Harvard Univ.), 5 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1857.

Prof. RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL (Columbia Univ.), 2074 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1886.

JACOB GRAPE, JR., Bond and Jefferson Sts., Baltimore, Md. 1888.

LOUIS H. GRAY, Ph.D., 58 Second Ave., Newark, N. J. 1897.

†Dr. GEORGE A. GRIERSON, Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey, England. 1899.

Miss LUCIA C. GRAEME GRIEVE, 50 Heck Ave., Ocean Grove, N. J. 1894.

Miss LOUISE H. R. GRIEVE, M.D., Satara, Bombay Presidency, India. 1898.

Dr. KARL JOSEPH GRIMM, Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pa. 1897.

Dr. J. B. GROSSMANN, 236 Custer Ave., Youngstown, O. 1894.

Prof. LOUIS GROSSMANN (Hebrew Union College), 2212 Park Ave., Cincinnati, O. 1890.

CHAS. F. GUNTHER, 212 State St., Chicago, Ill. 1889.

Rev. ADOLPH GUTTMACHER, 1833 Linden Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1896.

GEORGE C. O. HAAS, 64 Seventh St., Manhattan, N. Y. 1908.

Dr. CARL C. HANSEN, Lakawn Lampang, Laos, Siam (via Brindisi, Moulmau, and Raheng). 1902.

Prof. ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1886.

Pres. WILLIAM RAINHEY HARPER, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1885.

Prof. SAMUEL HART, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn.

Prof. PAUL HAUPT (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 2511 Madison Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1883.

Rev. EDWARD HAYES, 907 West Franklin St., Baltimore, Md. 1904.

Dr. HENRY HARRISON HAYNES, 6 Ellery St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.

Prof. RICHARD HENEBRY, Ph.D., 1738 Logan Ave., Denver, Col. 1900.

Col. THOS. WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, 25 Buckingham St., Cambridge, Mass. 1869.

Prof. HERMANN V. HILPRECHT (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 403 South 41st St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1887.

Prof. FRIEDRICH HIRTH, 501 West 113th St., New York, N. Y. 1903.

Prof. CHARLES T. HOCK (Theological Seminary), 220 Liberty St., Bloomfield, N. J. 1903.

†Dr. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, 8 Northern Road, Oxford, England. 1893.

Rev. HUGO W. HOFFMAN, 306 Rodney St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1899.

Prof. E. WASHBURN HOPKINS (Yale Univ.), 299 Lawrence St., New Haven, Conn. 1881.

WALTER DAVID HOPKINS, 1037 Bargan St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1902.

Prof. JAMES M. HOPPIN, D.D. (Yale Univ.), 47 Hillhouse Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1862.

ROBERT E. HUME, 78 Kenwood Park, Springfield, Mass. 1900.

Miss ANNIE K. HUMPHERY, 1114 14th St., Washington, D. C. 1873.

HENRY MINOR HUXLEY, 31 William St., Worcester, Mass.

Prof. HENRY HYVERNAT, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D. C. 1889.

Prof. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON (Columbia Univ.), 16 Highland Place, Yonkers, N. Y. 1885.

Prof. MORRIS JASTROW, JR. (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 248 South 23d St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1886.

Miss MARY JEFFERS, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1900.

Rev. HENRY F. JENKS, P. O. Box 79, Canton Corner, Mass. 1874.

Prof. JAMES RICHARD JEWETT, 5735 Lexington Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1887.

Prof. CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON (Johns Hopkins University), 21 West 20th St., Baltimore, Md. 1889.

Prof. MAX KELLNER, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. 1886.

Miss ELIZA H. KENDRICK, Ph.D., 45 Hunnewell Ave., Newton, Mass. 1896.

Prof. CHARLES FOSTER KENT (Yale Univ.), 406 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn. 1890.

Prof. GEORGE L. KITTREDGE (Harvard University), 9 Hilliard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.

Rev. GEORGE A. KOHUT, 44 West 58th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.

STEPHEN HERBERT LANGDON, 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1902.

†Prof. CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN (Harvard Univ.), 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass. 1876.

BERTHOLD LAUFER, Ph.D., Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank, Shanghai, China. 1900.

†HENRY C. LEA, 2000 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1898.

Prof. C. S. LEAVENWORTH, Nan Yang College, Shanghai, China. 1900.

Prof. CASPAR LEVIAS, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1892.

ROBERT LILLEY, Grafton, Mass. 1894.

Prof. THOMAS B. LINDSAY, Boston Univ., Boston, Mass. 1888.

Prof. CHARLES E. LITTLE (Vanderbilt Univ.), 808 Gowday St., Nashville, Tenn. 1901.

Dr. ENNO LITTMANN, University Library, Princeton, N. J. 1902.

Rev. JACOB W. LOCH, 89 Schermerhorn St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1899.

PERCIVAL LOWELL, care of Putnam & Putnam, 50 State St., Boston, Mass. 1893.

†BENJAMIN SMITH LYMAN, 708 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1871.

Prof. DAVID GORDON LYON (Harvard Univ.), 15 Lowell St., Cambridge, Mass. 1882.

ALBERT MORTON LYTHGOE, Girgeh, Upper Egypt. 1899.

Prof. DUNCAN B. MACDONALD, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1893.

Rev. CHARLES S. MACFARLAND, Ph.D., 629 Salem St., Malden, Mass. 1898.

Lieut. WILLIAM E. W. MACKINLAY, 1st U. S. Cavalry, Lemon Building, 1729 New York Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1904.

Prof. HERBERT W. MAGOUN, W. Kennebunk, Me. 1887.

Prof. MAX L. MARGOLIS, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1890.  
Prof. ALLAN MARQUAND, Princeton Univ., Princeton, N. J. 1888.  
Prof. WINFRED ROBERT MARTIN, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1889.  
WILLIAM ARNOT MATHER, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1890.  
Mrs. MATILDA R. McCONNELL, 112 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1890.  
Rev. JOHN MCFADYEN, Knox College, Toronto, Canada. 1899.  
Rev. W. B. MCPHERSON, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1901.  
TRUMAN MICHELSON, 55 Sacramento St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.  
Mrs. HELEN L. MILLION (*née* LOVELL), Hardin College, Mexico, Missouri. 1892.  
Prof. LAWRENCE H. MILLS (Oxford University), 119 Iffley Road, Oxford, England. 1881.  
Prof. EDWIN KNOX MITCHELL (Hartford Theol. Sem.), 57 Gillette St., Hartford, Conn. 1898.  
Prof. J. A. MONTGOMERY (P. E. Divinity School), 6806 Green St., Germantown, Pa. 1903.  
Prof. GEORGE F. MOORE (Harvard University), 8 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1887.  
JUSTIN HARTLEY MOORE, 8 West 119th St., New York, N. Y. 1904.  
†Mrs. MARY H. MOORE, 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1902.  
PAUL ELMER MORE, 265 Springdale Ave., East Orange, N. J. 1893.  
Miss MARGARETTA MORRIS, 2106 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.  
Prof. EDWARD S. MORSE, Salem, Mass. 1894.  
Rev. Dr. PHILIP S. MOXOM, 83 Dartmouth Terrace, Springfield, Mass. 1898.  
Rev. Prof. A. J. ELDER MULLAN, S.J., Woodstock, Howard Co., Maryland. 1889.  
Mrs. ETHEL W. MUMFORD, 31 West 81st St., New York, N. Y. 1904.  
Prof. CHARLES ELIOT NORTON, Cambridge, Mass. 1857.  
Rt. Rev. Mgr. DENNIS T. O'CONNELL, D.D. (Catholic University), Washington, D. C. 1903.  
Prof. HANNS OERTEL (Yale Univ.), 2 Phelps Hall, New Haven, Conn. 1890.  
Miss ELLEN S. OGDEN, B.L., St. Agnes School, Albany, N. Y. 1898.  
GEORGE N. OLcott, Ridgefield, Conn. 1892.  
Prof. PAUL OLTRAMARE (University of Geneva), Ave. de Bosquets, Servette, Genève, Switzerland. 1904.  
†ROBERT M. OLYPHANT, 160 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1861.  
JOHN ORNE, Ph.D., 104 Ellery St., Cambridge, Mass. 1890.  
Prof. GEORGE W. OSBORN, New York University, New York, N. Y. 1894.  
Rev. GABRIEL OUSSANI, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1901.  
Rev. CHARLES RAY PALMER, D.D., 562 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1900.  
JEAN PARISOT, East Douglas, Mass. 1903.  
Prof. LEWIS B. PATON, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1894.  
Dr. WALTER W. PATTON, Middlefield, Conn. 1903.  
Dr. CHARLES PEABODY, 197 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.  
Prof. ISMAR J. PERITZ, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1894.  
Prof. EDWARD DELAVAN PERRY (Columbia Univ.), 542 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1879.

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Rev. Dr. JOHN P. PETERS, 225 West 99th St., New York, N. Y. 1882.  
Prof. DAVID PHILIPSON, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O. 1889.  
WILLIAM POPPER, 260 West 93d St., New York, N. Y. 1897.  
Prof. IRA M. PRICE (Univ. of Chicago), Morgan Park, Ill. 1887.  
Prof. JOHN DYNELEY PRINCE (Columbia Univ.), Sterlington, Rockland Co., N. Y. 1888.  
GEORGE PAYN QUACKENBOS, 331 West 28th St., New York, N. Y. 1904.  
Madame ZÉNAÏDE A. RAGOZIN, care of Putnam Sons, West 23d St., New York, N. Y. 1886.  
Rev. F. P. RAMSAY, PhD., R.F.D., Huntersville, N. C.  
HORACE M. RAMSEY, General Theological Seminary, 2 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1902.  
Dr. GEORGE ANDREW REISNER, Girgeh, Egypt. 1891.  
ERNEST C. RICHARDSON, Library of Princeton Univ., Princeton, N. J. 1900.  
J. NELSON ROBERTSON, 4 McMaster Ave., Toronto, Ont. 1902.  
EDWARD ROBINSON, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1894.  
Prof. GEORGE LIVINGSTON ROBINSON (McCormick Theol. Sem.), 10 Chalmers Place, Chicago, Ill. 1892.  
Hon. WILLIAM WOODVILLE ROCKHILL, International Bureau of the American Republics, Washington, D. C. 1880.  
Prof. ROBERT W. ROGERS, D.D., Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J. 1888.  
Prof. JAMES HARDY ROPES (Harvard University), 18 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.  
Rev. WILLIAM ROSENAU, 825 Newington Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1897.  
Miss ADELAIDE RUDOLPH, 18 Wilbur St., Cleveland, O. 1894.  
Mrs. JANET E. RUUTZ-REES, 331 West 88d St., New York, N. Y. 1897.  
Miss CATHARINE B. RUNKLE, 15 Everett St., Cambridge, Mass. 1900.  
Dr. ARTHUR W. RYDER, 72 Perkins Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1902.  
Prof. FRANK K. SANDERS (Yale University), 235 Lawrence St., New Haven, Conn. 1897.  
President S. SCHECHTER (Jewish Theological Seminary), 501 West 118th St., New York, N. Y. 1904.  
Dr. H. ERNEST SCHMID, White Plains, N. Y. 1866.  
MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER, JR., U. S. Embassy, St. Petersburg, Russia. 1899.  
Dr. CHARLES P. G. SCOTT, Radnor, Pa. 1895.  
WILLIAM G. SEIPLE, 914 N. Calvert St., Baltimore, Md. 1902.  
J. HERBERT SENTER, 10 Avon St., Portland, Me. 1870.  
Dr. CHARLES H. SHANNON, Univ. of Tenn., Knoxville, Tenn. 1899.  
CLARK S. SHERMAN, 65 Irving Place, New York, N. Y. 1904.  
The Very Rev. JOHN R. SLATTERY, 320 West 84th St., New York, N. Y. 1903.  
Prof. HENRY PRESERVED SMITH, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1877.  
LOUIS C. SOLYOM, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. 1901.  
WILLIAM WALLACE SPENCE, JR., Bolton, Baltimore, Md. 1900.  
Dr. EDWARD H. SPIEKER, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1884.  
Rev. HANS H. SPOER, Ph.D., 103 Remsen St., Astoria, L. I. 1899.  
DAVID BRAINERD SPOONER, The Sanskrit College, Benares, India. 1902.  
HENRY HULL ST. CLAIR, JR., 181 West 111th St., New York, N. Y. 1900.

Prof. CHARLES C. STEARNS, 126 Garden St., Hartford, Conn. 1899.  
Rev. JAMES D. STEELE, 74 West 103d St., New York, N. Y. 1892.  
Mrs. SARA YORKE STEVENSON, 237 South 21st St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.  
JOSEPH TRUMBULL STICKNEY, 4 Prescott Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1900.  
Rev. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, JR., Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1900.  
Prof. EDWARD HENRY STROBEL, care Foreign Office, Bangkok, Siam. 1908.  
MAYER SULZBERGER, 1303 Girard Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.  
HENRY OSBORN TAYLOR, Century Association, 7 West 43d St., New York, N. Y. 1899.  
Rev. J. J. TIERNEY, D.D., Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Md. 1901.  
Prof. HENRY A. TODD (Columbia University), 824 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1885.  
Prof. HERBERT CUSHING TOLMAN, Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tenn. 1890.  
Prof. CHARLES C. TORREY (Yale University), 67 Mansfield St., New Haven, Conn. 1891.  
Prof. CRAWFORD H. TOY (Harvard Univ.), 7 Lowell St., Cambridge, Mass. 1871.  
Rev. JOSEPH VINCENT TRACY, 20 Holton St., Allston, Boston, Mass. 1892.  
ADDISON VAN NAME (Yale Univ.), 121 High St., New Haven, Conn. 1863.  
EDWARD P. Vining, 49 Second St., San Francisco, Cal. 1888.  
THOMAS E. WAGGAMAN, 917 F St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1897.  
Miss SUSAN HAYES WARD, The Stone House, Abington Ave., Newark, N. J. 1874.  
Dr. WILLIAM HAYES WARD, 130 Fulton St., New York, N. Y. 1869.  
Miss CORNELIA WARREN, Cedar Hill, Waltham, Mass. 1894.  
Prof. WILLIAM F. WARREN, 131 Davis Ave., Brookline, Mass. 1877.  
Rev. W. SCOTT WATSON, West New York, New Jersey. 1898.  
CHARLES WALLACE WATTS, Smithland, Ky. 1898.  
Prof. J. E. WERREN, 17 Leonard Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1894.  
Prof. JENS IVERSON WESTENGARD (Harvard Univ.), 29 Chauncey St., Cambridge, Mass. 1903.  
SIDNEY A. WESTON, Sharon, Mass. 1903.  
Pres. BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1885.  
Prof. JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE (Harvard Univ.), 18 Concord Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1877.  
Miss MARIA WHITNEY, 2 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1897.  
Mrs. WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY, 227 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1897.  
Rev. E. T. WILLIAMS, U. S. Legation, Peking, China. 1901.  
FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS (Yale Univ.), 135 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1895.  
TALCOTT WILLIAMS, LL.D. ("The Press"), 916 Pine St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1884.  
Rev. Dr. WILLIAM COPEL WINSLOW, 525 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1885.  
Rev. STEPHEN S. WISE, 288 N. 24th St., Portland, Oregon. 1894.  
HENRY B. WITTON, Inspector of Canals, 16 Murray St., Hamilton, Ontario. 1885.

Rev. LAUREN P. WOLFE, Church of The Holy Comforter, 19th and Titan Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1898.  
LOUIS B. WOLFENSON, 518 Laurens St., Baltimore, Md. 1904.  
WILLIAM W. WOOD, 1604 Linden Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1900.  
JAMES H. WOODS, Ph.D., 2 Chestnut St., Boston, Mass. 1900.  
Prof. JOHN HENRY WRIGHT (Harvard Univ.), 38 Quincy St., Cambridge, Mass. 1898.  
Prof. THEODORE F. WRIGHT, 42 Quincy St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.  
Rev. JAMES OWENS WRIGHTSON, 1031 Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 1903.  
K. YAMASAKI, 925 Howard Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1904.  
Rev. ABRAHAM YOHANNAN, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1894.  
Rev. EDWARD J. YOUNG, 519 Main St., Waltham, Mass. 1869.

[TOTAL, 271.]

III. MEMBERS OF THE SECTION FOR THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF RELIGIONS.

Prof. FELIX ADLER, Ph.D., 123 East 60th St., New York, N. Y. 1900.  
Rev. Dr. SAMUEL H. BISHOP, 176 West 82d St., New York, N. Y. 1898.  
Rev. JOHN L. CHANDLER, Madura, South India. 1899.  
SAMUEL DICKSON, 901 Clinton St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1899.  
Prof. FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS (Columbia Univ.), 150 West 79th St., New York, N. Y. 1900.  
Prof. ARTHUR L. GILLETT, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn 1898.  
Prof. GEORGE S. GOODSPEED, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1899.  
Dr. CHARLES B. GULICK (Harvard University), 18 Walker St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.  
Prof. LINDLEY M. KEASBEY (Bryn Mawr College), Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1908.  
Prof. GEORGE T. LADD (Yale Univ.), 204 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.  
Prof. HINCKLEY G. MITCHELL, Ph.D., D.D. (Boston University), 72 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass. 1900.  
WILLIAM W. NEWELL, Cambridge, Mass. 1898.  
FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D. (Harvard Univ.), Longfellow Park, Cambridge, Mass. 1900.  
Rev. CHARLES S. SANDERS, Aintab, Turkey. 1902.  
Rev. Dr. MINOT J. SAVAGE, 34th St. and Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1898.  
Prof. EDWIN R. SELIGMAN (Columbia Univ.), 324 West 86th St., New York, N. Y. 1898.  
Prof. LANGDON C. STEWARDSON, Lehigh University, South Bethlehem, Pa. 1901.  
Prof. WILLIAM G. SUMNER (Yale Univ.), 240 Edwards St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.  
Prof. CHARLES MELLEN TYLER, Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N. Y. 1904.  
Prof. R. M. WENLEY, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1898.

[TOTAL, 20.]

## IV. CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Prof. GRAZIADIO ISAIA ASCOLI, Royal Academy of Sciences and Letters, Milan, Italy.

Rev. C. C. BALDWIN (formerly Missionary at Foochow, China), 105 Spruce St., Newark, N. J.

Prof. ADOLPH BASTIAN, Univ. of Berlin, Germany. 1866.

Pres. DANIEL BLISS, Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, Syria.

Rev. ALONZO BUNKER, Missionary at Toungoo, Burma. 1871.

Rev. MARCUS M. CARLETON, Missionary at Ambala, India.

Rev. EDSON L. CLARK, Hinsdale, Mass. Corp. Member, 1867.

Rev. WILLIAM CLARK, Florence, Italy.

Judge ERNEST H. CROSBY, Rhinebeck, N. Y. 1890.

Rev. JOSEPH EDKINS, Shanghai, China. 1869.

A. A. GARGIULO, U. S. Legation, Constantinople, Turkey. 1892.

HENRY GILLMAN, 107 Fort St., West Detroit, Mich. 1890.

Rev. Dr. JOHN T. GRACEY (Editor of *The Missionary Review of the World*), 177 Pearl St., Rochester, N. Y. 1869.

Rev. LEWIS GROUT, West Brattleboro, Vt. 1849.

Rev. JOHN T. GULICK, Missionary at Osaka, Japan.

Dr. WILLABE HASKELL, 96 Dwight St., New Haven, Conn. 1877.

Prof. J. H. HAYNES, Central Turkey College, Aintab, Syria. 1887.

Dr. JAMES C. HEPBURN, 71 Glenwood Ave., East Orange, N. J. 1878.

Rev. Dr. HENRY H. JESSUP, Missionary at Beirut, Syria.

Pres. WILLIAM A. P. MARTIN, Hankow, China. 1858.

Prof. EBERHARD NESTLE, Ulm, Württemberg, Germany. 1888.

Dr. ALEXANDER G. PASPATI, Athens, Greece. 1861.

Rev. STEPHEN D. PEET, 5817 Madison Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1881.

Rev. W. A. SHEDD, Missionary at Oroomiah, Persia. 1893.

Dr. JOHN C. SUNDBERG, 313 Phelan Building, San Francisco, Cal. 1893.

Rev. GEORGE N. THOMSEN, of the American Baptist Mission, Bapatla, Madras Pres., India. Member, 1890; Corresp., 1891.

Rev. GEORGE T. WASHBURN, Meriden, Conn.

Rev. JAMES W. WAUGH, Missionary at Lucknow, India. (Now at Ocean Grove, N. J.) 1873.

Rev. JOSEPH K. WHITE, New Hamburg, N. Y. Corp. Member, 1869.

[TOTAL, 29.]

Number of Members of the four classes (24 + 271 + 20 + 29 = 344).

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PHILADELPHIA, PA.: American Philosophical Society.

WASHINGTON, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Bureau of American Ethnology.

WORCESTER, MASS.: American Antiquarian Society.

II. EUROPE.

**AUSTRIA, VIENNA** : Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Anthropologische Gesellschaft.

**PRAGUE** : Königlich Böhmishe Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.

**DENMARK, ICELAND, REYKJAVIK** : University Library.

**FRANCE, PARIS** : Société Asiatique. (Rue de Seine, Palais de l'Institut.)

Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.

Bibliothèque Nationale.

Musée Guimet. (Avenue du Trocadéro.)

École des Langues Orientales Vivantes. (Rue de Lille, 2.)

**GERMANY, BERLIN** : Königlich Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Königliche Bibliothek.

Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen. (Am Zeughause 1.)

**GÖTTINGEN** : Königliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.

**HALLE** : Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. (Friedrichstr. 50.)

**LEIPZIG** : Königlich Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.

Leipziger Semitistische Studien. (J. C. Hinrichs.)

**MUNICH** : Königlich Bairische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Königliche Hof- und Staatsbibliothek.

**TÜBINGEN** : Library of the University.

**GREAT BRITAIN, LONDON** : Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

(22 Albemarle St., W.)

Library of the India Office. (Whitehall, SW.)

Society of Biblical Archæology. (37 Great Russell

St., Bloomsbury, W.C.)

Philological Society. (Care of Dr. F. J. Furnivall,  
3 St. George's Square, Primrose Hill, NW.)

**ITALY, FLORENCE** : Società Asiatica Italiana.

**ROME** : Reale Accademia dei Lincei.

**NETHERLANDS, AMSTERDAM** : Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen.

**THE HAGUE** : Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië.

**LEYDEN** : Curatorium of the University.

**RUSSIA, HELSINGFORS** : Société Finno-Ougrienne.

**ST. PETERSBURG** : Imperatorskaja Akademija Nauk.

Archeologiji Institut.

**SWEDEN, UPSALA** : Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet.

III. ASIA.

**CALCUTTA, GOV'T OF INDIA** : Home Department.

**CEYLON, COLOMBO** : Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

**CHINA, PEKING** : Peking Oriental Society.

**SHANGHAI** : China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

**TONKIN** : l'École Française d'extrême Orient (Rue de Coton), Hanoi.

**INDIA, BOMBAY** : Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The Anthropological Society. (Town Hall.)

**CALCUTTA** : The Asiatic Society of Bengal.

The Buddhist Text Society. (86 Jaun Bazar St.)

LAHORE: Library of the Oriental College.

SIMLA: Office of the Director General of Archaeology. (Bennmore, Simla, Punjab.)

JAPAN, TOKIO: The Asiatic Society of Japan.

JAVA, BATAVIA: Bataviaansch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.

KOREA: Branch of Royal Asiatic Society, Seoul, Korea.

NEW ZEALAND: The Polynesian Society, New Plymouth.

SYRIA: The American School (care U. S. Consul, Jerusalem).  
Revue Biblique, care of M. J. Lagrange, Jerusalem.

#### IV. AFRICA.

EGYPT, CAIRO: The Khedivial Library.

#### V. EDITORS OF THE FOLLOWING PERIODICALS.

The Indian Antiquary (care of the Education Society's Press, Bombay, India).

Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (care of Alfred Hölder, Rothenthurm-str. 15, Vienna, Austria).

Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung (care of Prof. E. Kuhn, 3 Hess Str., Munich, Bavaria).

Revue de l'Histoire des Religions (care of M. Jean Réville, chez M. E. Leroux, 28 rue Bonaparte, Paris, France).

Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (care of Prof. Bernhard Stade, Giessen, Germany).

Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft. (J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, Germany.)

Oriental Bibliography (care of Prof. Lucian Scherman, 18 Ungerer Str., Munich, Bavaria).

The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal, 5817 Madison Ave., Chicago, Ill.

RECIPIENTS: 315 (Members) + 65 (Gifts and Exchanges) = 380.

#### REQUEST.

The Editors request the Librarians of any Institutions or Libraries, not mentioned above, to which this Journal may regularly come, to notify them of the fact. It is the intention of the Editors to print a list, as complete as may be, of regular subscribers for the Journal or of recipients thereof. The following is the beginning of such a list.

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Boston Public Library.

Brown University Library.

Chicago University Library.

Cornell University Library.

Harvard Sanskrit Class-Room Library.

Harvard Semitic Class-Room Library.

Harvard University Library.

Nebraska University Library.

New York Public Library.

Yale University Library.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS  
OF THE  
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

With Amendments of April, 1897.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I. This Society shall be called the AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE II. The objects contemplated by this Society shall be:—

1. The cultivation of learning in the Asiatic, African, and Polynesian languages, as well as the encouragement of researches of any sort by which the knowledge of the East may be promoted.
2. The cultivation of a taste for oriental studies in this country.
3. The publication of memoirs, translations, vocabularies, and other communications, presented to the Society, which may be valuable with reference to the before-mentioned objects.
4. The collection of a library and cabinet.

ARTICLE III. The members of this Society shall be distinguished as corporate and honorary.

ARTICLE IV. All candidates for membership must be proposed by the Directors, at some stated meeting of the Society, and no person shall be elected a member of either class without receiving the votes of as many as three-fourths of all the members present at the meeting.

ARTICLE V. The government of the Society shall consist of a President, three Vice Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Secretary of the Section for the Historical Study of Religions, a Treasurer, a Librarian, and seven Directors, who shall be annually elected by ballot, at the annual meeting.

ARTICLE VI. The President and Vice Presidents shall perform the customary duties of such officers, and shall be *ex-officio* members of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VII. The Secretaries, Treasurer, and Librarian shall be *ex-officio* members of the Board of Directors, and shall perform their respective duties under the superintendence of said Board.

ARTICLE VIII. It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors to regulate the financial concerns of the Society, to superintend its publications, to carry into effect the resolutions and orders of the Society, and to exercise a general supervision over its affairs. Five Directors at any regular meeting shall be a quorum for doing business.

ARTICLE IX. An Annual meeting of the Society shall be held during Easter week, the days and place of the meeting to be determined by the Directors, said meeting to be held in Massachusetts at least once in three

years. One or more other meetings, at the discretion of the Directors, may also be held each year at such place and time as the Directors shall determine.

**ARTICLE X.** There shall be a special Section of the Society, devoted to the historical study of religions, to which section others than members of the American Oriental Society may be elected in the same manner as is prescribed in Article IV.

**ARTICLE XI.** This Constitution may be amended, on a recommendation of the Directors, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at an annual meeting.

#### BY-LAWS.

I. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society, and it shall be his duty to keep, in a book provided for the purpose, a copy of his letters; and he shall notify the meetings in such manner as the President or the Board of Directors shall direct.

II. The Recording Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Society in a book provided for the purpose.

III. *a.* The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds of the Society; and his investments, deposits, and payments, shall be made under the superintendence of the Board of Directors. At each annual meeting he shall report the state of the finances, with a brief summary of the receipts and payments of the previous year.

III. *b.* After December 31, 1890, the fiscal year of the Society shall correspond with the calendar year.

III. *c.* At each annual business meeting in Easter week, the President shall appoint an auditing committee of two men—preferably men residing in or near the town where the Treasurer lives—to examine the Treasurer's accounts and vouchers, and to inspect the evidences of the Society's property, and to see that the funds called for by his balances are in his hands. The Committee shall perform this duty as soon as possible after the New Year's day succeeding their appointment, and shall report their findings to the Society at the next annual business meeting thereafter. If these findings are satisfactory, the Treasurer shall receive his acquittance by a certificate to that effect, which shall be recorded in the Treasurer's book, and published in the Proceedings.

IV. The Librarian shall keep a catalogue of all books belonging to the Society, with the names of the donors, if they are presented, and shall at each annual meeting make a report of the accessions to the library during the previous year, and shall be farther guided in the discharge of his duties by such rules as the Directors shall prescribe.

V. All papers read before the Society, and all manuscripts deposited by authors for publication, or for other purposes, shall be at the disposal of the Board of Directors, unless notice to the contrary is given to the Editors at the time of presentation.

VI. Each corporate member shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of five dollars; but a donation at any one time of seventy-five dollars shall exempt from obligation to make this payment.

VII. Corporate and Honorary members shall be entitled to a copy of all the publications of the Society issued during their membership, and shall also have the privilege of taking a copy of those previously published, so far as the Society can supply them, at half the ordinary selling price.

VIII. Candidates for membership who have been elected by the Society shall qualify as members by payment of the first annual assessment within one month from the time when notice of such election is mailed to them. A failure so to qualify shall be construed as a refusal to become a member. If any corporate member shall for two years fail to pay his assessments, his name may, at the discretion of the Directors, be dropped from the list of members of the Society.

IX. Members of the Section for the Historical Study of Religions shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of two dollars; and they shall be entitled to a copy of all printed papers which fall within the scope of the Section.

X. Six members shall form a quorum for doing business, and three to adjourn.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY BY-LAWS.

##### I. FOR THE LIBRARY.

1. The Library shall be accessible for consultation to all members of the Society, at such times as the Library of Yale College, with which it is deposited, shall be open for a similar purpose; further, to such persons as shall receive the permission of the Librarian, or of the Librarian or Assistant Librarian of Yale College.

2. Any member shall be allowed to draw books from the Library upon the following conditions: he shall give his receipt for them to the Librarian, pledging himself to make good any detriment the Library may suffer from their loss or injury, the amount of said detriment to be determined by the Librarian, with the assistance of the President, or of a Vice President; and he shall return them within a time not exceeding three months from that of their reception, unless by special agreement with the Librarian this term shall be extended.

3. Persons not members may also, on special grounds, and at the discretion of the Librarian, be allowed to take and use the Society's books, upon depositing with the Librarian a sufficient security that they shall be duly returned in good condition, or their loss or damage fully compensated.

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**TO CONTRIBUTORS.**

Fifty copies of each article published in this Journal will be forwarded to the author. A larger number will be furnished at cost.

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**GENERAL NOTICES.**

1. Members are requested to give immediate notice of changes of address to the Treasurer, Prof. Frederick Wells Williams, 135 Whitney avenue, New Haven, Conn.
2. It is urgently requested that gifts and exchanges intended for the Library of the Society be addressed as follows: The Library of the American Oriental Society, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, U. S. America.
3. For information regarding the sale of the Society's publications, see the next foregoing page.
4. Communications for the Journal should be sent to Prof. E. Washburn Hopkins or Prof. Charles C. Torrey, New Haven.

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**CONCERNING MEMBERSHIP.**

It is not necessary for any one to be a professed Orientalist in order to become a member of the Society. All persons—men or women—who are in sympathy with the objects of the Society and willing to further its work are invited to give it their help. This help may be rendered by the payment of the annual assessments, by gifts to its library, or by scientific contributions to its Journal, or in all of these ways. Persons desiring to become members are requested to apply to the Treasurer, whose address is given above. Members receive the Journal free. The annual assessment is \$5. The fee for Life-Membership is \$75.

Persons interested in the Historical Study of Religion may become members of the Section of the Society organized for this purpose. The annual assessment is \$2; members receive copies of all publications of the Society which fall within the scope of the Section.





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